

ENGLISH AND WELSH
CATHEDRALS



THOMAS DINHAM ATKINSON

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AVENUE

ENGLISH AND WELSH
CATHEDRALS



DURHAM FROM THE NORTH-WEST

ENGLISH AND WELSH CATHEDRALS

BY

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ARCHITECT

WITH TWENTY ILLUSTRATIONS IN COLOUR BY

WALTER DEXTER, R.B.A.

TWENTY IN MONOTONE, AND FORTY-EIGHT PLANS

BOSTON

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TO
MY WIFE

PREFACE

IN the following pages I have aimed at sketching the histories of our cathedral churches in their broader aspects and at connecting each so far as is possible in narrow compass with the main stream of architectural history. It will be seen that this aim has influenced the form and arrangement of the histories. But although the matter is thrown into the form of a history, I have really approached the subject from the point of view of the architect,—the constructor.

It falls to the luck of few of us in these days to make important discoveries in the well-trodden ground of cathedral history. We are obliged to use the facts of others. I here indicate generally the sources to which I am especially indebted : Longman's *History of the Three Cathedrals dedicated to Saint Paul* ; Freeman's *Memoir on Llandaff* ; Jones and Freeman's *St. Davids* ; papers in the *Archæological Journal* on Lichfield, Winchester and Worcester by Professor Willis, on Saxon church building by J. T. Micklethwaite (vol. liii.) for the plans of the Saxon church at Oxford and the crypt at Ripon, on Bristol Cathedral by E. W. Godwin (vol. xx.) ; Mr. F. S. Waller's monograph on Gloucester ; Professor Willis's *Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury* ; Dr. St. John Hope's *Cathedral Church and Monastery of St. Andrew at Rochester* ; the *Rites of Durham*, edited

by Canon Fowler for the Surtees Society, Neale's *St. Alban's Abbey*, papers on Lincoln Cathedral by Mr. Francis Bond and Mr. William Walkins, whose reading of the evidence for St. Hugh's plan I have adopted, in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (vol. xviii., third series); J. Thomson's *Foundations of Manchester*; Mr. J. R. Boyle's *Guide to Saint Nicholas, Newcastle*. For help in many cathedrals I am indebted to Messrs. Bell's 'Cathedral Series' and to the excellent plans published by the *Builder*; in every case in greater or less degree to Messrs. Murray's *Hand-book*, and on the subject generally to the Reverend William Hunt's *The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest*, and to the writings of Professor Prior.

I have to thank the following for their help in lending plans and otherwise: Mr. A. B. Allen, Miss Helen Atkinson, Mr. H. E. Ayris, Miss Enid Bell, Sir A. Blomfield & Sons, Mr. F. Bligh Bond, Mr. R. Bowes, Mr. Sidney Clark, the Reverend Canon Gough and the churchwardens of St. Nicholas Cathedral Church, Newcastle; Mr. C. Linnell; Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co.; Mr. F. L. Pearson, Professor E. S. Prior, Mr. G. G. Scott, the West Yorkshire Printing Co., and Mr. W. Wrigley. To many others also I am indebted for help and advice.

T. D. A.

CAMBRIDGE, 1912

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INTRODUCTION

THE material remains of our cathedral churches begin, with but few exceptions, with the first few decades following the Norman Conquest. But written history takes back the story centuries before that event and places before us in glowing if somewhat vague terms the buildings of almost the earliest period of English Christianity. And we have in one instance the actual building which Wilfrid planned, on which his eyes looked and in which he was laid to rest.

These Saxon buildings, we used to be taught, were rude timber wigwams like the church at Greenstead in Essex which is usually pointed to as pre-Norman but which may, I suppose, be of any date. Saxon churches were probably without exception small, but to suppose that they were rude or badly built or plain or cheap is as far from the truth as to picture the time as one of apostolic simplicity. Some of the churches were of wood, but others were of wrought stone, and some of these had a confessio or crypt under the chancel. These were at least well enough built to last eleven or twelve hundred years. They were carefully finished, for the walls of even the crypt were plastered, and the plaster was still sticking tight to them at Hexham when I saw it being hacked off in order to expose valueless disjointed fragments of Roman inscriptions. When

the building was of timber it was not necessarily rude. Bede tells us of a church built of oak and with a thatched roof, but this was after the manner of the Scots. In the first half of the seventh century the Bishop of Lindisfarne took off the thatch and covered both roof and walls with lead; and this is thought to have been no solitary example of a church so treated.

The chancel crypts belong rather to the south than to the north. They are Romish, and were brought over as part of the Basilican plan by Saint Augustine. They were of course adopted by the ultra-Romish Wilfrid at Ripon and Hexham, but for the most part the north stuck to the national plan of no crypt and a square east end.

Augustine and Wilfrid and Birinus, at Canterbury, Ripon and Abingdon, seem to have placed their altars at the west end, but for the most part English churches had the eastern altar. This is probably the later position, but the reason of the almost universal change has not been suggested. The turning round so that the altar was to the east was probably very gradual and took place at very different periods in neighbouring churches. Canterbury seems to have had the western altar and Rochester the eastern, Ripon the western and York the eastern. Possibly the western altar was due to a direct intercourse with Rome, where nearly every church is so placed. There are two English examples of what is possibly the transitional stage of an apse at each end: Canterbury, till just before 1067, and Abingdon, founded in 675 and rebuilt by Ælthelwold in this form so late as the end of the ninth century.

The more important churches had aisles and transepts and an atrium or entrance court, whether the

entrance was to the east or west. We are told that Wilfrid glazed the windows of York Minster in 670 and Benedict Biscop those of Monkwearmouth.

As to the furniture, we have several examples of the stone seat of the bishop or priest, which was placed against the wall of the apse and faced the congregation : Hexham, Beverley, possibly Canterbury, and remains at Peterborough. There is at Ripon what appears to be a fragment of a stone altar, of finished design and workmanship. Every church was obliged to have a picture of its patron saint, and we may guess that this was not the only painting it possessed. Finally, there are the magnificent illuminated manuscripts, splendid in purple and gold.

Thus for two hundred years from the landing of Saint Augustine (597) and the southward advance of Saint Aidan in 635 the Church, in spite of incessant war between the kingdoms, prospered. And then appeared the Northmen. At the end of the eighth century they destroyed Lindisfarne and slew all the monks ; and forty years later, after many raids on Ireland and Scotland, they reappeared in England. From the middle of the ninth century the Church, with its cathedrals, its monasteries, its schools, its whole organization was well-nigh overwhelmed by the fury of the vikings. Canterbury and probably Rochester were destroyed in 850 and York in 867. After that the raids became more frequent. In 870 Medeshamstead (Peterborough), Bardney, Crowland, and Ely were taken : and ' taken ' means indiscriminate slaughter, violation of women, plunder of all gold and silver and woven stuff, and then the burning of the buildings. Saint Edmund, the East

Anglian King, was defeated and martyred in that year. The enemy penetrated far inland; Wessex and Mercia suffered; Saint Albans and Repton were burnt between 870 and 880. Lindisfarne was sacked again in 875 but the monks (or clergy) had been warned and had fled, carrying with them the remains of St. Cuthbert, St. Oswald and St. Aidan. All the coast from the Tees to the Firth of Forth was harried. London was taken in 872. But the Danes came now rather as colonists than as pirates, and when they reached the west many of their countrymen had settled in the land and their paganism was giving way.

When peace returned again in the tenth century there was hardly a religious building left in the country; those which the Danes had not reached had fallen into decay through the dispersal and demoralization of the clergy and monks. But with the revival of morals and religion and of Benedictinism in the tenth century there was a revival of architecture. Saint Dunstan and Saint Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester, were both artists and practical craftsmen. Dunstan presented to Malmesbury Abbey an organ and bells and a holy water stoup; they are said to have been of his own making, but that is immaterial—the interest of the story lies in the simple fact that the tenth-century church had organ and bells. Dunstan made a design for a lady to embroider upon a stole, and he is credited with a powerful drawing of himself at the feet of Christ. Æthelwold also presented an organ and bells to his abbey of Abingdon. He gave also a wheel plated with gold and having little bells hung on it; this was to be turned round on feast days ‘to excite

the devotion of the people.' The abbeys of Ely, Thorney and Peterborough, still lying deserted and in ruins, owed their rebuilding to Æthelwold, besides his own abbey of Abingdon and his cathedral of Winchester.

The architecture of the revived church, it is now thought, was generally inferior to that which had been obliterated by the Danes. There can be little doubt that it was different. The greater number of our Saxon churches, the characteristics of which are familiar to all,—the long-and-short work and the rest of it,—belong to this period, the tenth and eleventh centuries. A compromise had been made between the basilican church of St. Augustine and the Scottish church of St. Aidan. The building was generally square-ended and always had the altar towards the east, and on the whole had more of the native than the foreign element about it.

Perhaps three out of four of our cathedral churches are on pre-Conquest sites, but in five only have actual remains of that time been discovered. The apse found under the west end of the present church at Rochester is attributed to the year 604, the year of St. Augustine's death: there are remains at York which are thought to belong to 627 and at Peterborough to the seventh century. The crypt at Ripon was built at the end of that century. The pigmy church at Oxford is thought by the discoverer, Mr. Park Harrison, to date from 727 and by Mr. Micklethwaite from 1004.

The Normans with their lordly ideas swept away almost all the buildings of the conquered race. The vast scale of their work is one of the commonplaces of architectural history, but none the less still remains a wonder. They once more introduced the apse, of which

they had two plans. The more common is that known as the *chevet*, in which the aisle is carried round the central apse and has radiating chapels projecting from it. It has been called the periapsidal plan; it is distinctly French and perhaps especially Burgundian. The other plan is Lombardic and was introduced into England probably by the Lombard Lanfranc; certainly it was used by him at Canterbury. The aisles are not carried round the central apse but are themselves terminated by apses, while other apses project eastwards from the transepts. The arrangement is usually described by the term 'parallel apses.' This plan is the more primitive of the two and is of Oriental origin.

This is not the place in which to institute an inquiry into architectural origins, but I cannot resist the temptation to follow the apse to its source. Although the Romans had adopted it and had used it in every kind of building and may perhaps claim it as one of their contributions to Western architecture, yet the apse is essentially an ecclesiastical feature and has continued as such in the unchanging East from times long prior to its use by the Romans down to the present day. The Greeks formed the west end of some of their temples in this way, the entrance being towards the east, and in doing so they followed the tendency of all peoples to perpetuate in their religion primitive forms of long-forgotten origin. For this round ending to a rectangular building is, it is contended, a survival of the primitive and long-since-abandoned round or oval dwelling-house, preserved in religious buildings simply because it was old fashioned. Thus we add one more to the many instances of primitive forms perpetuated

in religious art and to the many instances of religious forms derived from secular origins. Thus also we discover one more debt owed by us to the Greek.

To the Greek also we owe the orientation of our churches, for though in the course of time churches have in most countries got turned round so that the entrance is to the west, yet the east and west direction of the axis is derived from the Greek temple just as that had derived it from some still earlier building. From this digression we now return to our own land.

In 1075 a decree was issued by the Council of London held under Lanfranc ordering the removal of bishops' sees from villages to towns. The process had begun in the time of the Confessor, and Crediton had been superseded by Exeter in 1050. In the same year that the decree was issued the bishops' seats were removed from Dorchester to Lincoln, and then or soon after from Elmham to Thetford and thence to Norwich in 1094. The 'bishop's stool,' as it was called in early times, placed at Selsey by St. Wilfrid was moved to Chichester within the next ten or twelve years after the decree, and the first Norman Bishop of Wells removed very soon to Bath. With the addition of Ely in 1109 and Carlisle in 1133 and the removal of the cathedral from Old Sarum to the new town in 1258 the medieval sees were completed and remained without addition or material alteration till the time of Henry VIII.

The sees as thus arranged were divided between the monks and the canons. Roughly the Benedictines held the east with cathedral and abbey churches: Canterbury, Rochester, Colchester, Bury St. Edmunds, Norwich, St. Albans, and Ely; whence a band stretched

across the midlands to the west : Spalding, Peterborough, Crowland, Ramsey, Coventry, Tewkesbury, Gloucester, Worcester as far as Shrewsbury. The canons were strong in the south and west : London, Chichester, Oxford, Salisbury, Wells, Exeter, Bristol, Hereford, and away to St. Davids ; and in the northern midlands, from Lichfield to York and Ripon, and from Lincoln and Southwell to Manchester, St. Asaph, and Bangor. In the extreme north the Benedictines at Durham formed a frontier 'gainst the Scot, while they had in the west and south, outside their own district, the great houses of Chester and Winchester.

Merely recounting this roll of names brings to the mind the striking characteristics of the two camps : the vast Norman naves of the monks are seen in almost every church from Norwich to Gloucester and from Durham to Rochester, their massy towers from Saint Albans to Shrewsbury. The churches of the secular clergy have a warmth of colour, a generosity of sculpture, a beauty and a certain graciousness of manner which characterize the fully developed medieval architecture. These two groups form the main divisions of this book.

This custom of placing the bishop's throne in a monks' church is almost peculiar to England. It gives to an important group of our cathedral churches a distinct character of its own. The churches of this class were, it may be said, the private chapels of an exclusive and secluded community. They were therefore divided into two parts : the eastern, and in the end the larger part, was the church of the monks, the western part was the church of the people. The canons' churches were not so divided, nor had they any need

of the cloister and the complex system of building which surrounded it. The canons did indeed imitate the monks in developing the screen which separated the choir from the nave and by building a cloister. Sometimes, as at Lichfield, they enclosed their precinct by a wall as efficient as that which Losinga drew round his monastery at Norwich. And thus the greater number of our cathedrals are surrounded by those trim lawns and immemorial elms which gave to Ruskin the theme for one of his most characteristic passages. This seclusion separates them from French cathedrals as distinctly as do their more strictly architectural qualities: their long, narrow and low proportions as contrasted with the short and wide plans and lofty vaults of our neighbours, our emphasis of the cross plan, our square east ends, central towers and western transepts. A type of plan particularly characteristic of the canons is the aisleless nave. Enough is left at Ripon to show the very striking architectural treatment which this plan could receive. It may be compared with the church of Nunmonkton in Yorkshire, which was, however, Benedictine.

All our cathedral monasteries were of the Benedictine order. The Cluniacs came over a few years after the Conquest, and the Cistercians in 1228, but none of their churches have become cathedrals. The Cluniac houses were often, and the Cistercian houses always, in out-of-the-way places. The Augustinians or Black Canons, an order of canons living according to rule and so holding a position intermediate between the regulars and the secular clergy, arrived in England in the first decade of the twelfth century under the patronage of

Henry I. The newly established canons of Carlisle were of this order ; the Augustinian churches of Oxford, refounded in 1122, and Bristol, founded in 1142, became cathedrals in later times. Both these have a distinct character of their own. Both made bold but, as it turned out, barren experiments in the bay-design. Southwark adds one to the number of their churches which have become cathedral in rank.

In the first half of the thirteenth century came the general lengthening of the eastern arm of the cross church by canons and monks alike. The reason which prompted the movement, apart from architectural glorification, was the desire to provide space either for a great shrine or for the altar and offices of Our Lady, or for both. In the canons' churches room for the stalls was almost always found in the enlarged eastern building. But in most cases the monks kept their choir in the nave or under the central tower, the old position which it had occupied when the eastern limb of the cross was short and when, further back still, there had been no eastern limb at all. Notwithstanding the notable exceptions of Canterbury and Durham this rule fairly represents the general tendency, and even in those exceptions the nave altar was under the western arch of the tower.

The 'religious' were in fact inclined to be rather conservative ; a natural tendency in a community of that character, and one which would perhaps be strengthened by a certain loyalty to their own neighbourhood with its architectural mannerisms. They were mostly local men : in various houses the names of the abbots and priors show that they came from places averaging only thirty miles away.

The differences between the monks' and canons' churches will appear in the following pages. At the same time they must have been constantly influencing each other. Occasionally the bishop in a canons' church had been a monk : such was St. Hugh of Lincoln. On the other hand, by far the greater number of bishops, even in monks' churches, were secular clergy, except for the first few years after the Conquest. They were men of affairs and from a distance. The Devon-born bishops of Exeter seem to have been exceptional. Then again many prominent ecclesiastics were related to one another. One of the most remarkable illustrations of the effect this may have is the similarity between the Norman plans of Winchester and Ely, where two brothers were respectively bishop and abbot. Of course it was inevitable that bishops should be thus related, because there were really very few families from which to choose. It is said that Simeon of Ely was not only brother of Walkelin of Winchester but was also related to Gerard of York and Remigius of Lincoln. Thomas Beck of Lincoln and his brother Anthony of Norwich were nephews of Anthony of Durham. Alexander of Lincoln was brother of Nigel of Ely and they were nephews of Roger of Salisbury. Very many other examples could be given. It is not of course contended that bishops designed cathedrals ; but these facts cannot have been without considerable influence.

Thus even before the torrent of the Black Death swept away so many old barriers the conservatism of the Benedictines had begun to yield. The Durham Nine Altars showed this ; the Ely Octagon was the

most radical thing that had been done for centuries. Worcester and Winchester among cathedrals and Gloucester and Glastonbury among abbeys, at one time or another led the way in architectural innovation.

But the halcyon day of monachism began to wane in the thirteenth century. The day of the canons was come and reached its zenith early in the fourteenth century. This was the time of Salisbury, Wells and Exeter, of Lichfield and Southwell, Lincoln and York and Old Saint Paul's.

The first decline in architectural expression may be said to have shown itself in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Two examples will illustrate this. The Gloucester monks began the recasing of their church,—that recasing which was to have such far-reaching results,—about 1330, and they glazed the east window in 1350. At Ely the fall of the central tower in 1322 led to new work of weakened form in octagon and presbytery. The loss is less marked in the new Lady Chapel which was going on at the same time. This building brings us into touch with the tragedy of 1349. Brother John de Wisbech just lived to finish his work and died of the plague in that year.

The Black Death had swept across Europe in 1348, and the half-built nave of Siena Cathedral still stands as a striking memorial of its havoc. It appeared in England in the same year, and the page of history and especially of local history reeks with its doings. It was a knock-out blow that it gave to English art in 1348 and 1349, followed by others only less heavy in 1361, 1368-69, 1375, 1382, 1390-91. The effect of

the plague on architecture was stunning rather than mutilating. There had already appeared a decline in form. What followed was rather a dullness and inertia, a want of vitality and of growth.

The art was carried on by its own impetus to the end of the fourteenth and just into the fifteenth century; the great traditions of the past seem to have been kept alive by men who had reached manhood before the Black Death. William of Wykeham was twenty-five at the time. He died in 1404 at the age of eighty and then his work at Winchester languished. Canterbury nave was done by men of Wykeham's standing, though it was long in building and was not quite finished by 1411. The interrupted work at Chester was never resumed. Even in mere bulk of work our cathedral churches illustrate in a striking manner the absence in the fifteenth-century builders of that vaulting ambition which characterized their fathers. Hardly any great schemes belong to that period. Towers already begun were finished, cloisters were rebuilt, new screens and traceried windows were made, but nothing approaching the gigantic was done.

King Henry VI was a great lover of architecture, and the revival which took place at the end of the fifteenth century would perhaps have come fifty years earlier but for the troubles of his reign. The work at the east end of Peterborough—no very heroic affair it is true—was begun in 1438. But it was interrupted and not finished till the beginning of the sixteenth century. The King's own schemes at Eton and Cambridge were begun in 1440, and those of his friend Waynflete at Oxford soon after. Norwich nave vault

was built about 1446. Gloucester central tower was done between 1454 and 1457, but the Lady Chapel begun in the latter year dragged on till the end of the century.

It was probably immediately after the accession of Henry VII in 1485 that the renewed activity in building began. A great deal of the work then done is very beautiful in design, is superb in execution and is alive. It has long suffered under a sweeping and unfair disparagement. There is the King's own work at Westminster and his completion of St. George's and King's College chapels, there are the vaults of Oxford and Bristol and Norwich presbytery, towers innumerable from Louth to Taunton, and palaces from Thornbury Castle to Hampton Court. Those who condemn the work of this time as debased condemn the tower of Magdalen and the Angel Tower of Canterbury.

But these instances show that the latter part of the fifteenth century was an age of colleges and parish churches rather than of cathedrals. The parish church of the Blessed Virgin at Manchester had been rebuilt as a collegiate church in 1422, the tower of St. Nicholas, Newcastle, some thirty years later; the parish church of Wakefield was rebuilt about 1475, and the fragment left at Truro seems to be of the same date; Bristol and Ripon were largely parochial, and at Oxford St. Frideswide's becomes a college chapel. Coming events were no doubt casting long shadows before, and these were not such as to encourage munificence to religious bodies, whether secular or regular.

When Henry VIII suppressed the religious houses and replaced the old governing bodies of the monastic

cathedrals by chapters of secular canons, he called them cathedrals of the 'new foundation.' It was not a very accurate term, for it was the chapter that was new, not the bishop's throne or *cathedra*. It would have been more correct to call Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford and Peterborough new cathedrals. Henry at first suggested twenty-six names for new cathedrals, from which a number were, it is clear, to be selected, for several are quite close together. They were the following : Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Guildford, Taunton, Southampton, Shaftesbury, Melton, Marlborough, Bedford, Leicester, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Penrith, Bridgwater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Saint Germans (Cornwall), and the Isle of Wight with two others.¹ That was in 1534. The sees which the King designed in 1539, 'with the abbeys out of which they were to be erected,' are given in a paper under the King's own hand, headed 'The bishoprics to be made.' They are as follows : Essex : Waltham. Hartford : St. Albans. Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire : Dunstable, Newnham, Clowston. Oxford and Berkshire : Osney and Tame. Northampton and Huntingdon : Peterborough. Middlesex : Westminster. Leicester and Rutland : Leicester. Gloucestershire : St. Peters. Lancashire : Fountains and the Archdeaconry of Richmond. Suffolk : Edmondsbury. Stafford and Salop : Shrewsbury. Nottingham and Derby : Welbeck, Wesop, Thurgarton. Cornwall : Launceston, Bedmyne, Wardreth. The same document gives a list of the 'places to be altered according to our device, which have sees in them.' Christ's Church in

¹ H. D. Traill and J. S. Mann, *Social England*.

Canterbury, St. Swithins, Ely, Duresme, Rochester, with a part of Leeds, Worcester, and all others having 'the same.'¹

Henry's rule was of course disastrous in its effects on architecture, for it dried up the main sources of artistic inspiration, and when the stream flowed again it was in a new channel. But this check and this change of ambition and ideal are the whole story. The effects on artistic expression cannot have been very permanent, except in so far as any such checks and changes affect technique and traditional methods. The Renaissance had already come, and is seen in the details of work done twenty years before the Reformation.

The zeal of the first reformers was directed against images which had been the objects of superstition and against the shrines of certain saints such as Thomas of Canterbury. The fabrics of our cathedral churches and even their decorations probably suffered little till the reign of Elizabeth.

Some good scholarly work was done during the days of the two first Stuarts: Inigo Jones recast a large part of Saint Paul's and built a screen across the nave of Winchester. But for the most part the work was in the rather picturesque style known as 'King James' Gothic,' supposed to have been favoured by Laud. Under his influence the churches were at least brought back to a state approaching in its general effect a medieval character. Unfortunately almost all the excellent work then done in cathedrals has been destroyed during the last fifty years.

The Puritan reaction which followed Laud's pro-

¹ Burnet, *History of the Reformation*.

ceedings did infinite damage. Sculpture, painting and glass were systematically destroyed on a grand scale. In some districts commissioners with unlimited powers visited the churches, purging them of all that was 'superstitious.' Some treasures can have been saved only by a strong local feeling, such as the glass of York and Canterbury and of Fairford church and King's Chapel. Nevertheless, the usual indiscriminate damnation of all persons and things of that time is, I think, a mistake. After all, there are good fanatics and bad fanatics.

After the Restoration there were of course renovations. Saint Paul's, on which Laud had spent nearly a hundred thousand pounds, was taken in hand; Lichfield, still in ruins from her sieges, was repaired through the energy and liberality of Bishop Hacket; Durham was set in order and newly furnished by Bishop Cosin. At first a good deal of this work was very much in the quaint style of Laud's time, but before long this was superseded by a more severe and scholarly classical manner. Besides his Saint Paul's, Wren built a fine library (which not long ago they proposed to destroy) at Lincoln, and he did minor works elsewhere, as at Ely. Two churches, now pro-cathedrals, were built: the parish church of St. Peter at Liverpool in 1704, and that of Saint Philip at Birmingham somewhat later. A great deal of new work was done in the old cathedrals in the eighteenth century, but it consisted chiefly of organ cases, reredoses, panelling and other furniture, and the 'restorers' have made short work of it.

~ The works of the last four centuries will not be described in the following pages. For this omission I make no apology. The task of tracing the history of

a building down to the present day is a congenial one when there are material remains of each age with which to deal, and it is the imperative duty of the faithful historian. But descriptions of works of art which have been entirely destroyed are very irksome to write and most tedious to read. Such has been the fate of almost all work done between the middle of the sixteenth century and the middle of the nineteenth. As in all else that is human, there was a mixture of much that was good and much that was bad in the artistic side of the movement which began in 1840. Our cathedral churches had been in many cases neglected, so that they were seriously out of repair, and they were encumbered with many things which were practically inconvenient, were out of harmony (to say the least) with our religious ideas, and were in very doubtful taste. The repairs were in most cases splendidly done and at great expense, and many hidden beauties were brought to light. But unfortunately the repairs were almost always carried much further than was structurally necessary, and they were mixed up with a great scheme of 'restoration,' that is, a scheme for the removal of everything, both of fabric and furniture, of post-Reformation date, and of much that was pre-Reformation.

This destruction is often condemned as diminishing the archæological interest of a church. This is not the right point to attack. The condemnation should be on the ground that 'restoration,' as usually carried out, is destructive of much of the religious atmosphere of the building and of the great facts and lessons of the continuity of the Anglican Church. The nineteenth

century guardians of our buildings were busy in severing, so far as in them lay, those links which bind us with the past and add enormously to the impressiveness of the buildings. The more enlightened are now doing their best to snatch from the rubbish heap such fragments as have not yet perished.

The restoration craze was due in great part to a false critical method and to the unfortunate determination to destroy everything which would not stand its tests. The old critics administered a fixed code of laws and condemned all that did not comply with it. And so 'Palladian' architecture was voted 'stupid,' just as, a century earlier, architecture in the 'Gothick taste' had been voted barbarous. It is not a question of which judgement was right. Both schools were wrong in dogmatizing at all. Architectural criticism, like that of other arts and of literature, must be inductive. This is perhaps more particularly true of architecture, for architecture expresses not only ideals but practical requirements, and more than most arts is governed by tradition. We must not therefore construct a body of laws on abstract principles, except always those few grand truths of universal application. We must first ask, as Sir Leslie Stephen says, what pleases, and then try to find out why it pleases.

How and by whom these great buildings were designed has often been a matter of speculation. The credit has generally been given to ecclesiastics and monks, on the authority of monkish and ecclesiastical chroniclers: this has provided matter for more wonder. But the difficulty is not so great if we think clearly what we mean by designing. No doubt an abbot or

bishop who gave or found the funds, often laid down the main lines on which he wished the work to proceed. I think that the evidence of this can be seen in many buildings from the earliest to the latest times. We find the churches built by the ultra-montane Wilfrid in the north, where the influence of the Scottish mission of St. Aidan was strong, are as markedly Roman as St. Augustine's own churches. The resemblance between the Norman churches at Winchester and Ely, already referred to, is much more likely to be due to the relationship between the bishop and abbot than to the architect or architects. Lincoln and Westminster show in their plans the tastes of the French-born Bishop Hugh and of the French-loving King Henry. I have little doubt that Alan de Walsingham may fairly claim the credit which has always been given him of originating the idea of the Ely Octagon. We have documentary evidence of the personal care which Henry VI gave to the general arrangement and dimensions of his buildings at Eton and Cambridge. Finally, the many features peculiar to the two classes of churches were, of course, dictated by the canons and monks.

But when he had settled the general disposition, the main lines of the plan and so much of the elevation as could be readily described in words : something as to the height and whether there should be a vault and so forth, the cleric's share of the work was over. The architectural expression of his ideas is the province of the trained man.

A building such as a cathedral has to be seen in its entirety from the very beginning. The vault springs from the floor, so to speak ; the roof abuts against the tower, and must be provided for to a nicety months before it is

framed. The intimate relationship of all the parts, which is one of the essential factors in all architecture worthy of the name, means that the whole has to be designed from the very beginning, and this requires a training which cannot be acquired by a parson in his odd moments.

We have seen that the patron brought his ideas from afar: for Ripon from Italy and for Durham from France. This is what we might expect, for he himself often came from a distance or was a travelled man. But if the technicalities of design are due to the master-mason, we might expect them to be for the most part local, and peculiar to a district throughout which he would be known. And this is what we actually find. The whole of England may be easily mapped out into districts each with its distinctive manner, which is so easily recognizable that an antiquary alighting from an airship would at once take his bearings by the style of the architecture that he saw about him. For this reason I have arranged the cathedrals of the two main groups topographically.

The cathedral, therefore, was completely designed and fully drawn out by a highly skilled architect. Not the sort of architect nor the sort of drawings that we know. He combined, as we cannot do, the duties of designer and of master-mason. He doubtless conveyed his meaning, as we with some advantage might do, by diagrams. His knowledge was acquired, as ours should be, in that best of schools, the workshop and the scaffold. He worked, as we should work, not in a style brought from foreign lands or dug up from a long buried past, but in the common building language of the day as he had learned it from his father.

THE CANONS' CHURCHES

SAINT PAUL'S. CHICHESTER. SALISBURY. WELLS.
EXETER. HEREFORD. LLANDAFF. SAINT DAVIDS.
BANGOR. SAINT ASAPH. LICHFIELD. LINCOLN. YORK.
CARLISLE. SODOR AND MAN

THE CANONS' CHURCHES

THIS part includes those of the old cathedrals that were in the hands of the canons. It will be found that it does not include the whole of the present number that were so served, for some of the cathedrals founded in the sixteenth century or in recent times were canons' churches: Southwark, Southwell, and Manchester, Oxford, Ripon, and Bristol. In almost every case the canons were secular—that is to say, they did not live under a Rule. At Carlisle the canons were of the Order of Saint Augustine, as were the later foundations, Oxford and Bristol.

Five of the sees which fall within this section are colonies direct from Canterbury: London, York, Lichfield, Hereford, Lincoln. Four others were daughters of, or were connected with, the almost distinct and separate mission which founded Dorchester and moved soon after to Winchester: these are Wells, Exeter, Salisbury, Chichester. The Welsh dioceses and Sodor and Man are relics of the ancient British Christianity. Carlisle is a daughter of the Scottish Lindisfarne mission.

It was the intention of Saint Augustine to move his seat to London and make Saint Paul's the centre of the Anglican Church, but though the scheme appears not to have been definitely abandoned no attempt was ever made to put it into execution. Lichfield was perhaps the most important offspring of Canterbury which comes within the present group. In very early

times there was talk of making it the seat of the archbishopric. It was the immediate parent of Hereford, Lindsey, Dorchester (Oxford), and Leicester, and from it spring no less than fifteen dioceses covering the whole of mid-England (fourteen dioceses and two halves).

Certain characteristics will be noticed in the plans of these buildings. What we nowadays think of as the normal place for the stalls—that is, entirely within the eastern arm of the cross—is general in the churches of the canons. In other words, the ritual choir coincides with what is generally considered as the structural choir, corresponding to the chancel of a parish church. Unlike that of the Benedictines, the canons' choir did not form a separate church for a large and secluded community.

The original plans do not seem to have been otherwise marked by any special characteristics. But as time advances these declare themselves. This is noticeable in the arrangement of the east end. The plan of this part may be said to be of two types. First, the high and simple presbytery like that of York, Carlisle, Lincoln, or Old Saint Paul's. Second, the low cross aisle opening into the presbytery with arch or arches and forming a vestibule to an eastern Lady chapel, as at Hereford, Saint Davids, Llandaff, Wells, Exeter, Salisbury, Chichester.¹ Thus it will be seen that the first class is found in the north and east. When we come to consider the cathedrals of later foundation we shall find that Ripon and Southwell have to be added to the number. The second class is very distinctly a western type. It is rarely found in churches other than those of the canons, though there are some notable exceptions.

In several ways the canons were more free than the monks. They were free to place the side entrances, which they early developed, almost where they liked,

¹ Hereford and Llandaff show that this form began early.

sometimes making them, as the monks could not have done, quite in the east part of the nave as at Hereford and Exeter, or even in the transept as at York, Lichfield, Lincoln, or direct into the place of the shrines as at Lincoln. The transept entrance of the monks' church at Westminster is a gallicism and abnormal, though it was probably found useful for the pilgrims. Although there was always a western door, the side entrance received equal or greater emphasis: at Wells and Salisbury, with their gorgeous fronts, the west doorways are insignificant. The western entrance was the normal arrangement in primitive times, and was retained by the Benedictines, while the side entrances of the canons' and parish churches were something of an innovation. This innovation was perhaps prompted by two considerations. First, a west door exposes the church to the prevailing winds. Second, and more important, the architectural composition of the west front does not usually lend itself to the introduction of a porch; and a porch to shelter one of the entrances was highly desirable, if not absolutely necessary, because a considerable part of the christening, marriage, and churching offices took place outside the church door.

The peculiar characteristics of the canons' plan were therefore partly the result of local fashion and partly were directly due to the requirements and ideals of the clergy. Some characteristics other than those of plan seem obviously to belong to the architecture of the secular clergy. The names Exeter, Wells, Salisbury, Lichfield, Lincoln, York, Ripon, call up pictures of west fronts with ranks of statuary and of choir screens with kingly figures in tabernacles. But it is possible to infer too much from this conjunction. An artistic ideal may have had something to do with it, and fashion may have had more. It must, however, be remembered that the canons were particularly strong in that line

of country which runs from the south-western counties to the north-eastern, and that east and west of this line the principal strongholds were held by the monks. Now, this belt of country occupied by the secular clergy happens to coincide exactly with the outcrop of the best building stone, and consequently with conditions favourable to the development of a school of masonry and sculpture.

The canons' use of the unaisled nave in early times has been referred to in the Introduction, and will be noted again in later chapters under Oxford and Ripon. At the same time, they had their own treatment of the bay-design in an aisled church, showing a greater tendency to wander from the beaten path of tradition than the Benedictines. The absorption of the triforium into the clerestory begins somewhat early. Still earlier an attempt was made at Oxford, as will be noticed in a later chapter, to absorb it into the main or ground arcade ; but this proved to be a false step and led into a cul-de-sac.

The cloister was scarcely a necessity to the canons. At most it could only form a covered way between the church and the chapter-house and one or two other buildings. But as an architectural luxury it was irresistible, and the canons took it over bodily from the monks. There are, or were, cloisters at Chichester, Salisbury, Wells, Exeter, Hereford, of large or moderate dimensions ; at Old Saint Paul's, Saint Davids, and Lincoln the enclosed area is diminutive, Saint Paul's being quite abnormal. Bristol and Oxford also had cloisters. In fact, the canons were free to put the cloister where they liked and to treat it as they liked.

So it was also with the chapter-house. The canons loved to have everything handsome about them, and their chapter-houses are almost always sumptuous. True, in early times,—all through the Norman period,—

they were probably simple rooms of no special architectural character, or possibly no room was definitely built or even set apart for chapter meetings. But in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the canons built special chapter-houses, and almost invariably adopted the detached polygonal type. Saint Paul's, Salisbury, Wells, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, York, besides Manchester and Southwell, all adopted this form. Some of them have a basement high enough to count as a ground storey. Bristol, Exeter, and Oxford alone used the ordinary Benedictine parallelogram, while Worcester and Westminster Abbey are the only two very notable Benedictine houses that have the canons' type. The position of the chapter-house was generally the normal one, east of the cloister, but at York, Lichfield, Wells, and Southwell it was north of the presbytery and was connected with the church by a passage. At Saint Paul's the chapter-house stood in the cloister garth. At Llandaff and Ripon it forms part of the fabric of the church.

The canons' cathedral made a marked contrast with that of the monks in being more or less isolated and detached. One building, however, we find adjacent to their churches which is peculiar to their class. This is the college of vicars choral. Very famous examples are those of Wells, Chichester, and Hereford. The buildings of the college at Saint Davids—distinct from the college of Saint Mary—have been destroyed. Grouped round a court and having hall and chapel and other buildings necessary to a community living together, these colleges are self-contained and separate from the church and other buildings, but are at the same time connected with them by a cloister or covered passage. Being still used very much as they were originally, they possess a certain charm which is lacking in the ruins or transformed buildings of a monastery.

SAINT PAUL'S

THE history of Saint Paul's Cathedral carries us back to the very earliest years of Saint Augustine's mission. But the historians have not been satisfied with thirteen centuries; they have asked for four or five more. They discuss the legends of King Lucius, quote Tacitus, record the finding of a Saxon cemetery and of a Roman altar to Diana, and finally they crown Ludgate Hill with a grove of oaks where Druid hoary chiefs offered human sacrifices.

The long ancestry thus hinted at is likely enough, with some deductions; but when once it has been acknowledged, it may be dismissed without further courtesy. We do not know anything even of the Saxon church which lasted for twenty-one years after the Norman Conquest, when it was burnt. It was then, 1087, rebuilt on the same site by Maurice, the second bishop after the Conquest, and this building it was which for the most part survived till the Fire of 1666.

The new cathedral church is said to have impressed even travelled men with its size and magnificence. It consisted of a long nave, very bold transepts with aisles, and a presbytery terminating no doubt in one or the other form of apse: either like that of Norwich or that of Canterbury's first church. Under the presbytery there was a crypt. The work proceeded slowly, so that it was probably unfinished when about the middle of the twelfth century it was involved in a



ST. PAUL'S FROM SOUTHWARK

disastrous fire which destroyed a large part of the city. The building is said to have been 'destroyed,' but this is, of course, an exaggeration such as was common with the old chroniclers. The massive work of the Normans was not easily destroyed. The damage was certainly soon made good, and in the early part of the thirteenth century it was possible to undertake such a costly work as the rebuilding of the presbytery on a very ambitious scale. This work was consecrated in 1240 in the presence of the King and many prelates and nobles. The tower was probably still unfinished, and the great lead-covered spire seems not to have been added till 1315.

The completed church was at one time the largest, and must have been one of the finest, in Europe. In length it exceeded the long cathedrals of England, and its great presbytery and aisled transepts gave it a floor space as great as anything on the Continent. The height of the vault is said to have been a hundred feet, which rivals some of the lofty naves of France. The presbytery was screened from the nave and transepts, and was raised, as the Norman presbytery had been, on a crypt. It was approached by a noble flight of steps at the crossing, stretching right across the entrances to the presbytery and its aisles, and returning eastwards at each end. The choir was immediately within the screen, and occupying but a small part of the great eastern limb of the cross, left ample space for presbyterium, procession path, and Lady chapel.

To the south of the nave there was a diminutive cloister, the central area of which was almost entirely filled by an octagonal chapter-house. This was a work of the fifteenth century. The building was of two storeys, the upper one, forming the chapter-house proper, being supported on open arches. Slight remains of this work may still be seen in the grass immediately

to the south of the nave, and it is clearly shown in Hollar's view.

The later history of the church will not be attempted here. Of course it suffered much at the time of the Reformation, and what was spared by the Reformation was all but destroyed by fire in 1561. The great timber spire was struck by lightning and set on fire. The flames spread to all the adjoining roofs, and in a few hours little but a skeleton of stonework can have been left. The building was soon under cover again, but the time was not one of enthusiasm for art or for religion, and the building remained in a dismal and almost ruinous condition till the time of Laud, of Sir Paul Pindar, and of Inigo Jones. The bishop pushed the scheme of repair with all his zeal, and raised a large fund by various and sometimes questionable means; the merchant gave a sum of ten thousand pounds; while the architect supplied the genius and was used as scapegoat when things went wrong. The work was begun in 1631, and was continued for nine years at a cost of over a hundred thousand pounds.

Inigo Jones's work comprised a thorough repair of the whole building, but the only part of any architectural importance was the west front. He remodelled the wall into a curious and not very successful mixture of the medieval and Renaissance styles—that is to say, the general outline and character are Gothic while the details are classical. In front of this he built, at the King's expense, a very large and lofty portico of the Corinthian order. Of course he has been blamed for this, but if he is deserving of blame at all—and it is difficult to judge of such a work now—it is not for building a Roman portico, but for building one which did not quite harmonize with the rest of his own façade. However that may be, the portico was a very practical expedient: it was a concession to those who had hitherto

used the church itself as a lounge and meeting-place and were now to be deprived of a convenient place of resort.

The repairs were not completed when the Civil War broke out. The Parliament stopped the work and appropriated the balance of the fund, amounting to about seventeen thousand pounds. The scaffold erected for the central tower was assigned to a regiment in lieu of arrears of pay, and on its removal a part of the south transept fell. Then follows the usual dismal story of the nave used as a cavalry barrack, the destruction of monuments, and so forth. The choir, walled off from the nave, was reserved as a preaching-place, presided over by one Dr. Cornelius Burges, 'lecturer' in the cathedral, for whom had been reserved a stipend of four hundred a year out of the confiscated revenues. Burges was a man of moderate views and a courageous man. He seems to have been in favour of the reform rather than the abolition of the episcopacy; he stood firmly by the Constitution, and he protested vigorously at great personal risk against the death, and even against the trial, of the King. Unfortunately for him, when he retired from Saint Paul's he invested his savings in some land which had formerly been Church property. This was, of course, recovered at the Restoration, and Burges was left to starve.

The Restoration found Saint Paul's in a sad plight. Inigo Jones's repairs had been interrupted by the Civil War; part of the building, as we have seen, had soon fallen, and other parts were ready to fall. In 1662, Dr. Christopher Wren was consulted as to the possibility of repairing the old building. Wren was then aged thirty and was already distinguished for his scientific attainments. He was Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, but although he had recently become Assistant to the Surveyor-General of Works, he can have had

but the very slightest practical knowledge of architecture or of building. Wren made a long report in which he pointed out the structural defects of the old building, defects in the original design which time had increased. The walls of the nave had not sufficient abutment, so that the columns, in spite of their great mass,—they were 11 feet in diameter,—had been pushed out of the vertical. They were also ill constructed, being a mass of rubble of small stones and bad mortar, with a mere skin of ashlar. Wren also found fault with the proportions and with the irregularity of the intercolumniations. The central tower leant over, owing to the sinking of one of the piers. It is interesting to note that even at this early stage Wren proposed to substitute for the medieval crossing a circular space covered by a dome.

Wren was strongly of opinion that nothing could be done with the old cathedral and that it should be entirely rebuilt. Naturally there was much difference of opinion on the subject, and the debate still continued in 1666. On the 27th of August in that year Evelyn records that he went with the bishop and the dean and Dr. Wren and several others to view the building. A warm discussion seems to have taken place. Two of the party held that the walls had been purposely built sloping outwards originally “for an effect in perspective in regard to the height.” Against this Wren and Evelyn entered a protest. As to the steeple they also insisted on its being rebuilt from the very foundation, “not onely in regard of the necessitie, but for that the shape of what stood was very meane, and we had a mind to build it with a noble cupola, a forme of church-building not as yet known in England, but of wonderfull grace.” They so far prevailed that plans and estimates were ordered that same day. This half-decision to rebuild was finally clinched a week later by the Great Fire.

Wren had by now had some little experience in actual work, and he had not long returned from a six months' stay in Paris, the only period of systematic study in architecture he had had or ever was to have. He had, no doubt, inherited some talent for architecture from his father, the Dean of Windsor, and it has been suggested that he may have actually received instruction from him. He had now finished the new chapel which his uncle, the Bishop of Ely, had built for Pembroke College, Cambridge, usually accounted his first work, and he was building the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford.

In the few days' interval between the meeting of the Commissioners and the Fire, Wren prepared a design. It was to be the first of many, but it is remarkable as containing all the essential elements of the finished work : a cruciform church with an octagonal central space covered by a great dome ; the dome lofty and of double construction—an inner dome of brick with a much higher outer shell supported by timber framing and covered with lead. This description, it will be seen, would apply to the present building. The scheme included only the western part of the church, for the old choir was to be retained. Although the new nave was to be the same height as the old choir, the two would, as the drawings show, have contrasted very strangely : the multitudinous divisions of the mediæval part with the great scale of the new work. There can be little doubt that Wren and Evelyn foresaw that the discord would have led to its rebuilding to correspond with the nave.

But even now, with the whole building a smoking ruin, the authorities could not persuade themselves to abandon the wreck, and some attempt was actually made to repair it. A serious collapse of a part of the building, however, deterred them from further essays in this direction, and Wren was instructed to clear the

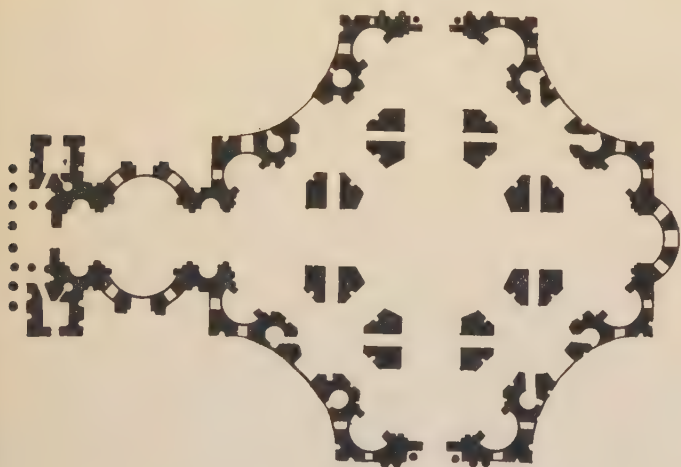
site of the dangerous ruins and to prepare plans for a new building.

The destruction of the old church was a laborious and dangerous task. Wren decided in the first instance to use gunpowder. He had made, probably with this object in view, some experiments on the force of gunpowder. With the knowledge so gained he applied to one angle of the central tower just sufficient energy to destroy it and to bring about the collapse of the whole without scattering. But this method, or perhaps some attempts made by a subordinate, alarmed the neighbourhood, and it was abandoned. For another part of the building Wren used a battering-ram. A heavy mast about 40 feet long and shod with iron was slung in a horizontal position and thirty men were set to swing it against the wall. This also proved successful, and on the second day the wall fell. This work of destruction and of clearing away great masses of débris was still proceeding in September 1668, when Pepys records that the mere sight of the stones falling from the top of the steeple did make him sea-sick. How much of the tower had succumbed to the gunpowder it is therefore difficult to determine.

Wren presented his first design to the King in 1673. The plan is generally described as a Greek cross—that is to say, the four arms were equal. To the western arm there was, it is true, an extension, covered by a subordinate dome and flanked by two towers, in front of which was a portico. But this western part had entrances to north and south as well as to the west, and may be regarded as a great vestibule rather than as a part of the church proper; in one variation of this design it does not appear at all. The centre of the cross was covered by a great dome not unlike the present dome, but of more importance in its relation to the whole. The arms of the cross and the spaces

between the arms were each covered by a simple dome not visible externally. The main dome was therefore surrounded by eight small domes or domical vaults. There were, of course, no aisles of the ordinary sort.

The conception is probably entirely original—Wren seems to owe little or nothing in it to other buildings. The arrangement is in more complete harmony with dome-architecture than is the plan of a dome at the crossing



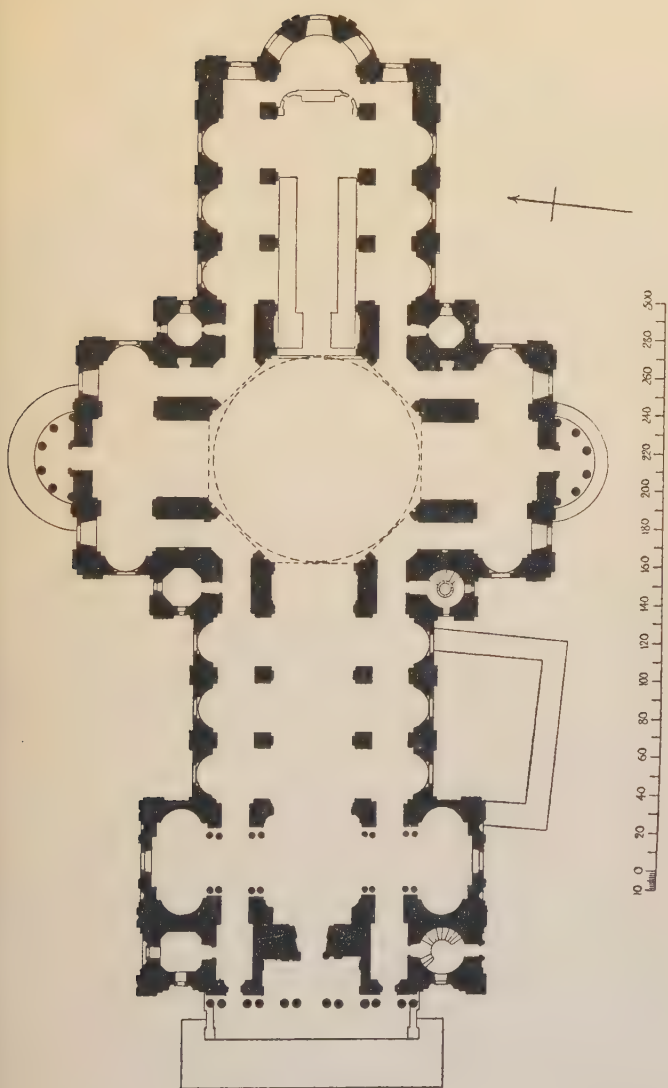
SAINT PAUL'S. Wren's First Design.

of nave and transepts which was finally adopted. It has a certain logical unity which characterizes all the greatest works of art and makes them appear to be inevitable. The interior would have been especially successful and would have been full of variety of effect. Externally the result would have been less satisfactory. The sweep of the quadrant walls would have been grand only on a far larger scale, and the dome would have been somewhat overpowering. For practical purposes it would have been in many respects inferior to the plan

that was finally adopted. Only a relatively small part of the area would have been available for a congregation, though perhaps this would have given space for as large a congregation as can take a real part in our services. The eastern arm would certainly have been too short. The stalls formed two segments of a circle under the eastern dome, an arrangement which did not meet with the approval of the clergy, and this part was accordingly modified. But the whole idea was such a complete departure from the accepted cathedral type that it was, much to Wren's regret, abandoned.

The King, who approved the design, issued a warrant placing the care of its execution in the hands of an unwieldy Commission consisting of archbishops, bishops, great officers of state, judges, and many others, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor. Of this Commission six were to form a quorum. It is not to be wondered at that trouble ensued.

Wren began a fresh series of studies on the lines of the Latin cross. One of these was finally approved by the King, who on 14th May 1675 issued a warrant, not to be confounded with the warrant of 1673, for the work to be begun. It is accordingly generally known as the 'warrant design.' This is the design which was, nominally at least, carried out. The plan is based on the Latin cross with a dome in the centre, but in all other respects it was so much altered before the commencement and during the progress of the work that the drawings could not be recognized by one unacquainted with the circumstances as having any reference to the building which we know. The clere-story is visible from the outside instead of being hidden by an immense parapet. The western portico is of one order, and the plain wall above it, over the back wall of the portico, is pierced by three windows. The



SAINT PAUL'S

portico is flanked by two very modest towers. The whole front seems to have been inspired by Inigo Jones's west front of Old Saint Paul's, of which the portico at least was much admired by Wren. As to the central dome, the less said the better. A large and low dome is surmounted by a second dome on a high drum ; and this again by a lofty spire of Wren's telescope pattern. Wren, driven back on the medieval plan of Ely by his employers, perhaps had in his mind the Ely octagon and its hanging lantern.

Charles II had wisely given the architect liberty to vary the design as he thought proper. Wren fully availed himself of this licence ; and moreover, he succeeded in carrying the Commissioners along with him. He considerably modified the ground plan, while in all other respects the executed work is an entirely different design. The wild idea of the dome was abandoned in favour of one almost identical with his original rejected design. The rest of the building, although of two orders instead of, as in the warrant design, one order with a high podium and an attic, is hardly more unlike the first design than the last. Wren, in his dealings with the Commissioners,—an extraordinarily troublesome body,—could no doubt always rely on the support of Charles II and of John Evelyn. James II, as Duke of York, had strongly opposed the first design. It is said that he had insisted on a modification of the accepted plan, to wit, the introduction of alcoves in the walls of the aisles, so that when he became King, and introduced the Romanist service, they should serve for side altars.

There had been some discussion after the Fire as to whether the cost of the new building should first be decided upon and the design should be made to accord with it, or whether an appropriate design should first be made in the hope that the necessary funds would not

be wanting. Wren seems to have modestly taken it for granted that the former course would be followed, but he was fortunately overruled and the bolder policy was adopted.

The methods of raising money were manifold. The King headed a list of voluntary subscriptions with a promise (it seems never to have been more) of a thousand pounds a year. He did actually pay to the fund certain fines due to him, amounting to about two thousand pounds. He graciously gave the bishop and the dean and chapter leave to collect contributions from others. Briefs or royal letters, drawn up in a more special manner than ordinarily, were to be issued. A remarkable order in council was made prohibiting bishops from making the great entertainments which were customary at their consecration, and they were ordered in lieu thereof to pay to the fund a sum of fifty pounds, afterwards increased to a hundred; the archbishop was even instructed to refuse consecration till the sum had been paid. The principal source of revenue was, however, the duty on sea-borne coal brought into the port of London, a fourth part of which was voted by Acts of Parliament in 1667 and 1670.

The first stones were laid without ceremony on 21st June 1675 by the architect, by Edward Strong the master mason, and by a Mr. Longland. The work was begun at the west end and proceeded eastwards. The laying of the foundations which had been already begun went on without mishap till the east end was reached, Wren trusting to a thin but, as he thought, sufficient bed of brick-earth. The north-east corner of the choir was the last part to be done, and when this was reached, and but six or seven feet remained to complete the plan, the excavators came suddenly on a pit whence all the brick-earth had been removed by the potters of old times, who had filled up the hole with broken

pottery and other rubbish. Wren says that he "knew very well that under the layer of pot-earth there was no other ground to be found till he came to the low-water mark of the Thames, at least forty feet lower. His artificers proposed to him to pile, which he refused; for though piles may last for ever when always in water (otherwise London Bridge would fall), yet if they are driven through dry sand, though sometimes moist, they will rot; his endeavours were to build for eternity." He accordingly sank a shaft, and at the forty-feet depth he came to the beach which he had expected. Having tested this and found it satisfactory, he built on it a pier of masonry ten feet square; and thus, as he says, "the north-east corner of the quire stands very firm, and no doubt will stand."

This north-east corner is, in fact, the best part of the foundation. In other parts the subsoil yielded unequally (being variable in character) under the great weight which was placed upon it. Cracks began to appear in piers, arches and vaults soon after the cathedral was finished. These were, however, remedied, and no serious failure has occurred since.

Wren did not give his building the same orientation as the old church. The main axis of this had been almost exactly due east and west. Wren's axis approaches east-by-north and west-by-south. His principal reason for the change was to obtain more space between the north-west tower and the houses which had been already rebuilt on that side of the churchyard.

Of the progress of the work comparatively little has been recorded. The walls of the choir and transepts appear to have been finished and the base of the dome carried up to the same height in 1684. The west end of the old nave, which extended about fifty feet farther west than the new nave, without counting Inigo Jones's portico, was still standing. It was taken down in

1686. The contract for roofing the choir was made in 1688, and this part was opened for service on 2nd December 1697, the day of thanksgiving for the Peace of Ryswick. In 1708 the material for covering the dome was under consideration, and it was decided to use lead at a cost of £2500 as against copper at a cost of £3050. The top stone of the lantern was laid in 1710 by Wren's son, the surveyor himself being then in his seventy-eighth year.

Much still remained to be done. The famous dispute between Wren and the Commissioners about the finish of the side walls took place in 1717. The Surveyor-General had designed a 'blocking course,' or plain band of masonry, above the cornice to counter-balance the weight of the overhanging part of the cornice. The Commissioners insisted upon a balustrade. Wren stated his objections in writing, and even his gentle temper was moved to the gibe that "ladies think nothing well without an edging." But he had to give way. This was not his first or last dispute with these gentry. All along they had interfered to an extent only possible to ignorant people. Wren's experience was a repetition of Brunelleschi's experiences over the Florence dome, but Wren had none of Brunelleschi's truculence to carry him through. This nauseous part of the story had best be told at once and done with. The Commissioners reduced Wren's salary as Surveyor by one-half on the ground that he was delaying the work for the sake of the money—an amazing idea considering that the salary in question was of the almost nominal amount of two hundred pounds a year. After infinite worry and trouble, Wren applied to Parliament, and the salary was restored to him. In 1718 he was dismissed from office. The work was, however, practically finished. The highest stone of the lantern of the dome had been laid some years before, and, with the excep-

tion of the stalls and ironwork, little remained to be done.

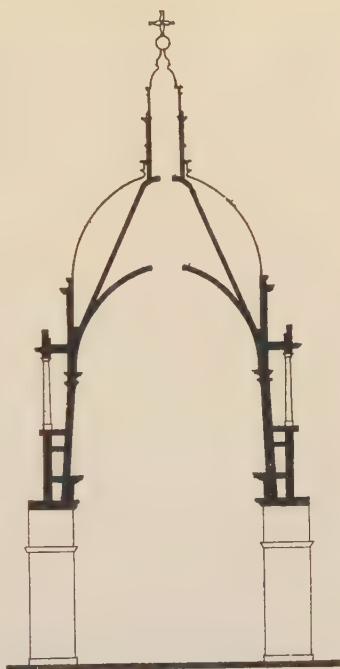
Saint Paul's Cathedral commands our admiration by many qualities, but probably most of all by its restraint, by the absence of all appearance of cleverness, by the art (skill) with which art (effort) has been concealed. This is perhaps the highest tribute that can be paid to a work of art, and is sufficient to cover faults of detail. To say that Saint Paul's is not equally good throughout is to say that Wren was human. To take one of those parts which fail to be quite so convincing as the rest, the arches supporting the dome—especially those intermediate arches between the arches of the four great divisions—are time-honoured, not to say hackneyed, instances. But these intermediate arches are just above one of the most delightful bits of composition in the church, namely, the grouping of the arches leading into the aisles.

Another feature over which there has been much throwing about of brains is the high parapet which hides the clerestory. The real arrangement of Saint Paul's is, of course, a lofty nave with clerestory windows looking out over the aisle roofs and with flying buttresses which carry the thrust of the vault down on to the aisle walls. In fact, it is exactly that of a Gothic cathedral. There are purists who are grieved at this falsification, or at least concealment of the true structure; others, on the contrary, are so liberal as to assert roundly that if a building be but beautiful and stable, its architect need not trouble his head about anything else.

Wren's ingenuity in construction is well illustrated by his design of the dome. The artistic problem was to design a dome which should be satisfactory in effect both within and without. It seems scarcely possible to do this for the largest buildings if only a single shell is used. The dome is either too low without or too

lofty within, and Wren therefore from the first started with the idea of a double dome. The constructional problem was to devise such a structure as would give the effect he wanted and allow him safely to crown it with a heavy lantern.

Thus in the first—the rejected—design there are two simple stone domes springing from about the same level; on the outermost, the curve of which appears to have been carefully considered, Wren proposed to build the lantern. What method of construction he proposed for the extraordinary design which had secured the King's approval does not appear. The work as carried out is different from either of these, but there is something like it in the very first design Wren made, immediately before the Fire. There is a low inner dome of stone, and an outer dome of timber covered with lead.



SAINT PAUL'S. Section of the Dome.

The outer dome is raised on a high drum, so that its springing is almost at the same level as the crown of the inner dome. Between the two domes there is a conical brick structure springing from the haunches of the inner dome and rising to the crown of the outer dome, where it is truncated and finished with a dome. On this third dome stands the lantern. The great brick cone is

bound together at its base by a strong iron chain embedded in the masonry. The drum of masonry which supports these structures tapers considerably in order that it may the better resist the outward pressure of the inner dome and of the cone, and also, no doubt, to improve the effect when seen from the floor of the church. The taper is not seen from the outside, being hidden by the peristyle which surrounds and strengthens the drum.

The furniture and other accessories of Saint Paul's are of great interest. The woodwork is very fine, and for the ironwork Wren was fortunate in securing the services of Jean Tijou, a French smith of great genius who had settled in England. The famous carvings of Grinling Gibbons are, of course, admirable in their style.

The total cost of the new cathedral is often stated to have been over a million, but this result is evidently obtained by including money borrowed. This debt was incurred, Mr. Longman suggests, probably because the subscriptions and coal-tax did not come in fast enough. Mr. Longman gives particulars of the receipts and expenses. His statement is not perfectly clear, but the following abstract, compiled from his figures, will give an approximately correct idea of the cost, and will, incidentally, illustrate the financial methods of the Commissioners. The amount paid as interest on the loan will be read with amazement. It should be remembered also that in addition to the sums spent on the old church and the new, there was a sum of seventeen thousand pounds, the balance of moneys collected for the repair of Old Saint Paul's, which was appropriated by the Parliament at the outbreak of the Civil War.

On his dismissal Wren retired to his house near Hampton Court, where he passed the remainder of his life. He died there about five years later, and they buried him in the great cathedral at the east end of

the crypt, where his grave is marked by a simple monument with the famous inscription :

SUBTUS CONDITUR HUIUS ECCLESIE ET URBS
CONDITOR CHRISTOPHORUS WREN QUI VIXIT
ANNOS ULTRA NONAGINTA, NON SIBI, SED
BONO PUBLICO. LECTOR, SI MONUMENTUM
REQUIRIS CIRCUMSPICE

Little remains to be told of the later history of the building. The screen which formerly enclosed the choir was removed between 1858 and 1860, and the organ which had stood upon it was placed at the sides of the choir. The fine reredos, designed by Bodley and Garner, was finished in 1888. Wren had designed a ciborium or baldachino, a canopy supported on four columns. He had also intended to enrich the east end and the dome with marble and mosaic and probably to use some colour for the whole church. None of this was carried out. The dome was painted by Sir James Thornhill (1675-1734), but little more was done till the second half of the nineteenth century. A large sum was then collected and some mosaics were put up in the pendentives over the arches of the dome, from designs by G. F. Watts, about 1860. Others were to have been done by Alfred Stevens, the designer of the Wellington Monument. But the time was hardly ripe, and little or nothing more was done till 1891 when a great scheme of decoration with mosaic and painted glass was begun by Sir William Richmond, R.A.

STATEMENT OF BUILDING ACCOUNT, 1663-1723

EXPENSES			RECEIPTS		
1663-66.	Repairs of Old Saint Paul's.	£3,586 5 1	Coal duty . . .	£810,181 18 2	
1666-74.	Attempts to repair Old Saint Paul's and subsequent removal of ruins . . .	10,909 7 8	Other sources . . .	68,341 14 1	
1674-84.	The new Fabric . . .	109,765 12 1			
1684-1700 }	The new Fabric . . .	615,986 9 10			
1700-23.	Additional embellishments	11,000 0 0			
	Purchase of houses to be demolished . . .	14,808 3 10			
	Interest on loan of £288,951, 5s. 8d. . .	83,744 18 9			
	Net balance after deducting part of loan not repaid . . .	28,722 15 0			
		<u>£878,523 12 3</u>			
				<u>£878,523 12 3</u>	

CHICHESTER

OF the many adventures through which Saint Wilfrid of Northumbria passed, surely none was so strange as that wild fight with the heathen on the Sussex coast. Driven ashore by storm and the vessel stranded, his party are fiercely attacked by the barbarous and piratical people; the crew as gallantly resist. On the one side Wilfrid and his brother clergy kneel apart, earnest in prayer for victory; on the other, the heathen priest pronounces incantations for the success of his own side. A well-aimed stone from a sling, and the priest falls; the Saxons, infuriated, attack more fiercely than ever; and the battle sways to and fro on the shore. Then the tide rises, the boat floats, the wind shifts, and Wilfrid and his companions again put out to sea, leaving five of their number dead. So for a moment the curtain is lifted to give us a glimpse of Sussex in the seventh century. Twenty years later it rises again. Wilfrid returns. He had come the first time the consecrated Bishop of York, and had to fight for his life. He returns from York a fugitive, to conquer. The people, suffering from the last extremity of famine, are ending their miseries by casting themselves into the sea. Wilfrid ministers to their stomachs, and after that has little difficulty with their religion.

Thus were the South Saxons converted, and thus was the see of Selsey founded. Saint Wilfrid was succeeded by a line of twenty bishops till Stigand (1070-87), the

first Norman bishop, removed the see to Chichester in obedience to the decree of the Council of London in 1075 ordering that sees should be removed from villages to large towns. The monastic church of Saint Peter became the cathedral. Of it nothing is known. It was entirely rebuilt by Bishop Ralph Luffa (1091-1123), a man strong in body and in will, brave in his opposition to passionate kings, and untiring in his diocese.

Bishop Ralph's church has undergone a series of remarkable transformations since his time, but a large part stands to this day. It consisted of a nave with a single aisle on each side, transepts without aisles but with apses projecting eastwards, and a short presbytery terminating with an apse. The aisle of the presbytery may have been carried round the great apse, and from it there projected, it has been suggested, three chapels in the manner of those at Canterbury and elsewhere. On the other hand, some authorities hold that the aisles were more probably square ended as at Winchester. There were two western towers, with arches opening into the nave and aisles, and a central tower.

The church was not destined to endure for long in its original state. It is said to have been finished in 1108, but this statement must be received with caution, for Ralph was not consecrated bishop till 1091, which allows only seventeen years. This is far too short a time. Probably the presbytery, the transepts, and the east part of the nave were finished in that time. The oldest part of the Lady chapel is later than these. A fire occurred in 1114, during Bishop Ralph's lifetime, and seems to have done considerable damage. The bishop died in 1123. There is a stone coffin-lid in the Lady chapel, admirable in its simplicity and inscribed RADULFUS EPI, which ought to mark the grave of this great man, but is said to belong to that of a later name-



CHICHESTER FROM THE SOUTH

sake. A most interesting and impressive work is the sculpture now preserved in the south aisle of the choir. These two slabs are carved in relief with scenes representing the Raising of Lazarus and the Meeting of Our Saviour with Martha and Mary. The technique of the work is characteristic of the Saxon period, or at least of Saxon workmen; there is a vigour and movement in the treatment which is unusual in Norman sculpture.

Ralph's church suffered in 1187 from a serious fire in which the whole building seems to have been involved. This fire is the central fact in the history of Chichester Cathedral. It led to the very remarkable remodelling of the whole church by Seffrid II (1180-1204). It is hardly accurate to say that the bishop thus in a measure forestalled William of Wykeham and the abbots of Gloucester, but the comparison immediately suggests itself. Unlike theirs, Seffrid's work was a matter of necessary repair rather than architectural glorification. His alterations are most obvious in those very parts which would have been most injured by the fire. The mass of burning timbers on the floor would do much damage to the stonework of the lower parts of the piers, especially to the parts which faced towards the centre of the building. These Seffrid refaced from the floor to the springing of the arches, introducing slight Purbeck marble shafts with carved capitals and marble string courses. In the four easternmost bays of the nave he carried his facing up to the sill of the triforium. The triforium itself would not, one may suppose, be very much injured by the fire, and Seffrid made little or no interference with it. But the Norman clerestory would be very likely to suffer. It probably consisted, as did many others, of an inner and outer part with a passage between. The outer part would be a solid wall pierced with windows, but the inner part, even in early work, was often of comparatively light construction, and

might easily be much damaged. Its reconstruction would, in any case, be a comparatively simple matter. This inner face was rebuilt by the bishop, while the outer wall containing the actual windows was preserved. A stone vault, simple in its general design but rather advanced in some of its methods of construction, was thrown across the nave, the vaulting shafts being brought down to the floor.

Bishop Seffrid's work, which is thus, so to speak, very much dovetailed into the earlier walls, is yet readily distinguished from them by the character of the materials which he used as well as by the style.

Besides this remodelling of the detail, Seffrid made several important alterations in the plan of the church. The chief of these was the destruction of the apse and the continuation of the presbytery up to the Norman Lady chapel. The aisles were continued so as to overlap the walls of the Lady chapel, and they form on each side of it chapels, in honour of Saint Katherine on the north and Mary Magdalene on the south. Chapels with these dedications existed before the fire, and may perhaps have occupied the ends of Ralph's aisles if these were square ended. The style of this new building is, as we might expect, very different from that where Seffrid had been restrained by the heavy Norman work. Here he used a clustered pier with the small shafts standing very boldly away from the centre column, richly carved capitals and elaborate mouldings. But he was obliged to keep to the low Norman proportions; and he did not disdain the round arch where it suited his purpose best, as in the main arches of his two new bays. These bays, forming a retrochoir behind the high altar, were open to the old Lady chapel by an arch similar in character to the side arches, but pointed instead of round.

Seffrid also took down the apses which projected

eastwards from the transepts and built in their places rectangular chapels. To the west of the south transept he built the sacristy, and west of this again the south porch, now entered from the cloisters. He also built the north porch, added the buttresses to the south tower, and possibly rebuilt the upper part of the tower.

There can be little doubt that all the works which have now been enumerated formed parts of Bishop Seffrid's scheme. That he saw them all completed during his own lifetime cannot be positively asserted. The fire occurred in 1187, and he died in 1204, and seventeen years is perhaps scarcely sufficient time. Seffrid no doubt pushed on with the east part of the church, and this he would at least have been able to consecrate. He was buried in the Lady chapel.

The work west of the transepts no doubt continued for some time after Seffrid's death more or less rapidly according to circumstances. Several of his successors held the see for very short periods, but Ralph Neville (1223-44) is thought to have brought the work to completion. He was a man of note. 'Swift of speech and bold in deed,' was Simon Langton's warning to the Pope. Chancellor of England was he, and his house gives its name to Chancery Lane to this day. He was succeeded by Richard de Wych (1245-53), who, though he filled the see for so few years, yet holds a foremost place among the bishops of Chichester. Profoundly learned, ascetic, affectionate, of great force of character, he was a rigid disciplinarian and a stern reformer of abuses. Ill-used by Henry III, but courted by such men as Grosseteste, he gained a great reputation during his life, and from the moment of his death was popularly regarded as a saint. Many miracles were wrought at his grave; he received formal canonization in 1261-62, and Indulgences were offered to those who should visit his tomb. His remains were translated in 1276 in the

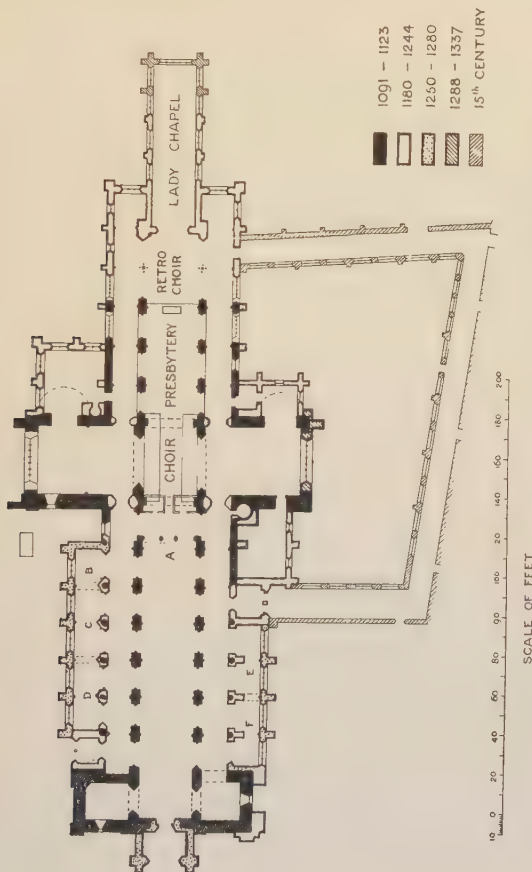
presence of Edward I, the archbishop, and others, from a lowly grave in the nave to a richer shrine, said to have been in the south transept, but more probably in the retrochoir. It has been suggested that the offerings there made provided the funds for the later enlargements of the church.

The nave had till now but one aisle on either side. The addition of side chapels to north and south, and their ultimate development into continuous aisles, forms the next chapter in the history of the cathedral. The chapel of Saint Thomas was first built on the north side. About 1250 two other chapels—those of Saint Clement and Saint George—were built against the south aisle, filling up the whole space between the porch and the tower, and arches were cut in the Norman wall between the chapels and the aisle. At a later time, probably about 1270, two more chapels like those opposite were built on the north side, filling the interval between Saint Thomas's chapel and the porch.

Before the chapels were built the Norman walls had been buttressed by Seffrid and his followers, and from the buttresses arches were built across the chapels, or the buttresses themselves were prolonged to form division walls between two adjoining chapels. These walls have since been thrown down, so that the chapels now form continuous aisles. The result of this series of alterations is that the piers now standing between the original aisles and the outer aisles are conglomerations of several periods affording excellent studies for analysis.

The west porch is now considered to date from about 1260. It contains a tomb, probably that of the donor; this tomb is contemporary with the building, which indeed was prepared to receive it. The work used to be considered that of Bishop de Saint Leofard (1288-1305). The choice of this humble place would have been quite in accord with the character of one who

was a humble visitor to the cottages of the poor, and who, we are told, "narrowly escaped canonization." John Grandison of Exeter made a tomb for himself



in a similar position some fifty years later. The good Gilbert de Saint Lifard or Leofard also added two bays to the Lady chapel.

Gilbert was succeeded by a man of very different

stamp, John de Langton (1305-37). He was a man of affairs, and became Chancellor of England. He excommunicated John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, for his adultery; and when that great lord's followers came to take vengeance, the bishop met them and laid the lot by the heels in his prison. He rebuilt the south wall of the transept, including the great window, and was himself buried beneath it. This seems to have been the only work of importance done till near the end of the fourteenth century; then the detached belfry was built, but its exact date and to whom it was due are alike unknown.¹

In the fifteenth century several works of importance were carried out. A spire was added to the central tower early in the century. The tower had been built about the middle of the thirteenth century, and before that was done some part of the Norman work seems to have been rebuilt with the old materials with the object of strengthening it. The upper part of the spire was rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren, who hung from the finial a weighted pendulum of wood in order to counteract the rocking during high winds. The result is said to have been very satisfactory. No doubt the movement of the spire would be injurious to a weak tower, but it was the intrinsic rottenness of the Norman piers which really brought about the final catastrophe.

But the most important chapter in the fifteenth-century history of the cathedral is biographical. As a philosopher Reginald Pecock (1450-57) is placed very high. His true theological position is difficult to understand and impossible to summarize. To his own age it was not less so; his contemporaries did not understand it, and he himself does not seem to have been able to state it. The open mind was as unpopular then as it

¹ See Salisbury, p. 48; Norwich, p. 230; Worcester, p. 199; Rochester, p. 166. Compare the design with the west tower of Ely.

is now, and was much more dangerous to the owner. Pecock was objectionable alike to the orthodox and to the Lollards. However, he escaped the fire, and was committed to close confinement at Thorney Abbey in Cambridgeshire, where he died.

A very interesting piece of work which was removed just before the fall of the spire was that known as the Arundel shrine. It was presumably built by Pecock's successor, Bishop Arundell (1458-77), chaplain and physician to Henry VI, and he was very likely buried in front of it. It is not explained why it was called a shrine; it seems to have been a *pulpitum* of a not uncommon type. The eastern part, between the west piers of the tower, consists of two parallel walls each pierced by a doorway. The space thus enclosed contained two staircases. To the west of this structure was a space with open arches on its other three sides: an arch on the north and south, and three arches to the west. This space was covered by a vault. Over the vault there was a gallery reached by the staircases aforesaid, containing in late times the organ, but without doubt intended for the great crucifix.

The cloisters also belong to the fifteenth century; they are remarkable for nothing except their unusual position, the east walk abutting upon the retrochoir, the west walk upon the nave. The east walk connects the church directly with the college of vicars choral as at Hereford. The last work before the Reformation was the choir stalls given by Bishop John Sherborne (1507-36). He had formerly held the bishopric of Saint Davids, which he had obtained by forging a papal bull. He was appropriately appointed one of those to enquire into the scandals of the monasteries.

In the fourteenth century a second storey had been built over the sacristy; this was the consistory court.

From it there was an entrance, thought to be secret, by a sliding panel to a room over the south porch. This room, of which there is no external sign, is believed to have been the treasury ; certainly it was so used at the time of the Civil War, if we are to believe a story that some cur betrayed the secret to the Roundheads and that they pillaged the place.

The city was besieged and taken by the Parliamentary troops in 1643. After a thanksgiving service for their success, the soldiers were turned loose in the cathedral, with such results as might be expected. The building has suffered some desecration since that time, as when the Lady chapel was converted into a library. The Arundel shrine was taken down in 1859.

It was the removal of this slight structure which first revealed the ruinous condition of the tower piers. Enormous fissures were then discovered. Some repairs were immediately put in hand. New masonry was inserted and the old was strengthened. But new cracks began to appear, and the walls began to bulge ; walls and piers were shored, and a jacketing of heavy timber was erected to stop the bulging. The work continued till February 1861, but the measures which were taken were inadequate. Still the cracks reappeared, and still the men kept at work. On the 20th crushed mortar began to pour out of the fissures, pieces of stone fell, and the braces began to bend. A storm was raging without, but the men worked on far into the night, and they began again before daylight on the 21st. The signs of failure continued, and it became clear that nothing could save the building. The work was abandoned, and the men were called off. At half-past one the spire, still vertical and without flaw, inclined slightly to one side, and then tower and spire collapsed like a telescope into the church.

The work of rebuilding was begun at once, and completed in June 1866, the new tower being in most respects a fair reproduction of the old work. It was agreed to improve the design by lifting the tower some six feet. We all think we can better medieval work.

SALISBURY

THE history of the city and cathedral church of Salisbury is familiar, in outline at least, to all.

It may be said, indeed, to consist of one chapter, to wit that which tells of the removal from Old Sarum to the present site. The incident is remarkable and stands alone in historic times. Both the sites are striking, the more so by contrast with each other. The grim old fortress, high and solitary on the dry chalk down; the sudden and deep trenches; the grey ruin of Stonehenge; the absolute desertion. And in the smiling valley, well wooded, well watered, the cheerful town and the fair cathedral in its peaceful close.

This fortunate removal was made early in the thirteenth century. The see had been placed at Old Sarum in 1075, but the diocese was really of high antiquity. It had been formed a few years before by the union of the bishopric of Wiltshire with its see at Ramsbury and the ancient see of Sherborne. The first Bishop of Sherborne was Saint Aldhelm (705-709), famous for his learning, wisdom, and piety. Quite a full life of him has come down to us, but here we can only briefly record that he was a great builder and that the well-known little church at Bradford-on-Avon is attributed to him. The most famous of his successors were Asser (d. 910), the biographer of Alfred the Great, and Saint Osmund (1078-99), the compiler of the Sarum Use.

The old church, of which some foundations can be traced, was a simple cruciform building; the transepts



W. H. W. 1841

SALISBURY FROM THE NORTH-WEST

as well as the nave and choir had aisles. Recent authorities do not agree as to the length, one giving it as 340 feet (internal) and another as 270 feet. The new cathedral has an internal length of about 450 feet.

The removal of the cathedral church to another site had been long contemplated, and a bull giving permission was obtained from the Pope by Bishop Poore in 1219. Richard Poore was the son of Richard of Ilchester, Bishop of Winchester. He is therefore said to have been 'technically' illegitimate, and obtained a dispensation allowing him to hold benefices. He was a man of learning and ability, and became dean of the old cathedral church. But he was not the sort to be content to rest there. We find him in Rome a few years later, prosecuting his candidature for the bishopric of Winchester—unsuccessfully, as it turned out. Then he was chosen by the monks of Durham as their bishop, but the election was quashed. In 1214 he became Bishop of Chichester, whence in 1217 he was translated to Sarum, and finally in 1228 to Durham, where he died in 1237.

Bishop Poore had now to find a suitable site for his building, and the old histories give all the trivial details of his proceedings. He ultimately fixed upon a site to which he had been directed in a dream. It is said that he had never heard of the place, and that he had some difficulty in finding it, although it was on his own estate and appears to have been perfectly well known to every one else. This was a piece of land called Maerfield, a name which is thought to mean 'boundary-field,' for three Hundreds meet there. Of course it has been interpreted as 'Mary-field,' and not less appropriately as 'Miry field.' The good bishop had in fact hit upon a place which is said to have been little better than a swamp. The situation was summed up by one of the eighteenth-century bishops in the following

words : " Salisbury is the sink of Wiltshire plain, the close is the sink of Salisbury, and the bishop's palace is the sink of the close." The more elegant call it the ' English Venice.'

However, the bishop proceeded at once with his plans. In the spring of the same year (1219) he built a temporary chapel of wood, presumably because he intended at once to take up his abode near the new building. A year later he laid the foundations of the church. There was a solemn procession of the bishop and clergy, barefooted, singing the litany ; they were attended by great multitudes of people, and by William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, and by his countess ; but the King and the most part of the nobility were away in the marches of Wales. The bishop laid three stones : one for the Pope, one for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and one for himself ; then Earl William and Countess Ela each set a stone, and after them certain other nobles and the chancellor and clergy of the church, amid the loud acclamations of the people. And when the nobles returned from Wales many of them came to Salisbury and laid stones in the building, binding themselves to make some special contribution for the next seven years. The bishop and his chapter were sufficiently business-like in their proceedings : they presently held a chapter in which they passed a resolution to the effect that if a canon failed to pay what he had promised towards the new building they would distrain on his corn for the amount and expenses, and if he belonged to another diocese he should be denounced to his bishop and forbidden their church ; and so forth.

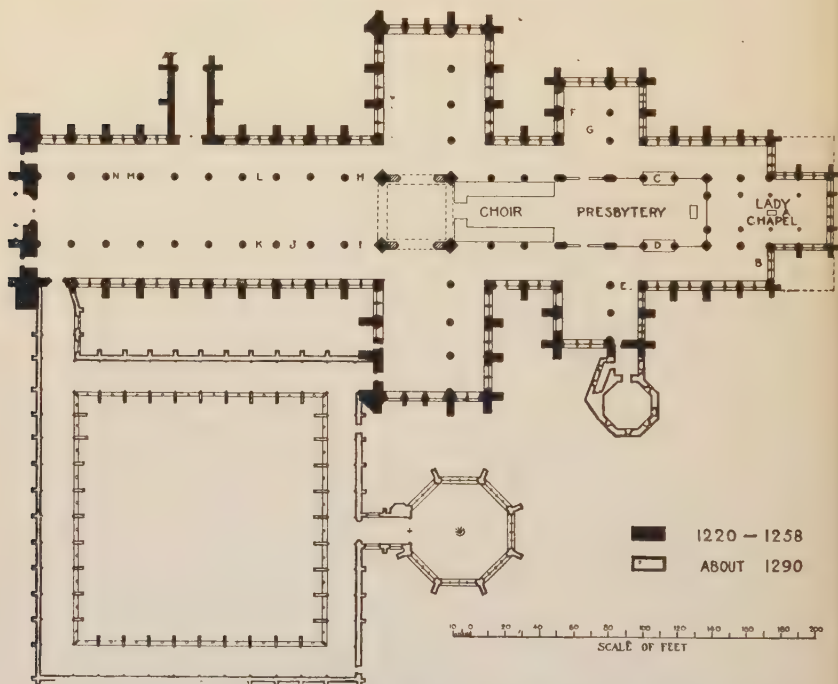
Consequently the work proceeded apace, and in 1225 some part of it—presumably the extreme east end—was sufficiently far advanced to be consecrated. The King himself came with Hubert de Burgh, his justiciar, and both made valuable gifts to the church. The copy

of the Gospel according to Saint John which the justiciar gave is still preserved in the chapter library. It was soon after this that the great Earl William Longespée returned home, an event which made a deep impression on the people. He had been long in France, and had just landed after tossing for three months in the Channel. He was received with honour and every demonstration of joy, for he was one of the foremost men in the land for wisdom and valour—a son, it is said, of King Henry II, and a benefactor to the cathedral. He was conducted to the church in solemn state. Thither, outworn with hardship, he was brought back not many weeks later in funeral procession. He was buried in the unfinished church, where his effigy and splendid shield of lions may be seen to this day.

Earl William was the first to be interred in the new building, but very shortly after the remains of Bishop Osmund were brought down from Old Sarum. This event must mark another stage towards the completion of the building. They were, no doubt, working westwards, and we may suppose that a large part of the eastern limb was by now under cover. In 1229, nine years after the church was begun, Bishop Poore was translated to Durham. The work was, however, continued by his three successors, and by the dean, William de Wanda, who from the first had been energetic in the collection of money, and who left a minute description of the birth of the great cathedral. By 1258 the work was to all intents and purposes finished, for in that year the whole building was consecrated in the presence of the King and Queen. As Indulgences of a year and forty days were to be given to those who were present during the octave of the consecration, no doubt a vast concourse attended the ceremony, or came on the following days. Something more than mere presence would be required, and the cathedral exchequer was

probably well replenished at the conclusion of the octave.

The evidences of the consecration may yet be read upon the walls of the church ; the greater number of the



SALISBURY. A grave of Saint Osmund. B Hertford monument. C tomb of Bishop Audley (1524). D Hungerford railing. E tomb of Bishop Bridport (1262). F remains of choir screen. G brass of Bishop Wyvill (1375). H monument of Sir John Cheyney. I of William Longespée, 3rd Earl of Salisbury. J of Lord Sturton. K of Robert, Lord Hungerford. L of Sir John de Montacute. M of Longespée, 4th Earl of Salisbury. N of the 'Boy Bishop.'

consecration crosses, or the places made for fixing them, are still visible both inside and outside the building. Most of them are in the eastern part of the church—in the great transept or east of it—and are, it has been suggested, the marks of the earlier consecration of 1225.

It is, however, hardly possible that so large a part of the work can have been completed in five years. The crosses appear to have been of bronze let into shallow sinkings in the stonework. These sinkings, enclosed in circles and quatrefoils, about two feet across, are about seven or eight feet from the ground. One cross—that on the south-east buttress of the great transept—is elaborately carved. Those in the gables of the aisle doorways are modern shams, not in the positions of the original crosses.

According to an old authority, the cost of the work—whether or not including the spire is not clear—was 40,000 marks, or £26,666. 13s. 4d., which, according to the usual calculations, would equal at least half a million of our money.

One's curiosity to know how and by whom our great churches were designed is sharpened when one visits Salisbury. Its unity of design, the fact that it was all built with the exception of the spire in the space of thirty-eight years, so that one man beginning it in the prime of life could easily have seen it finished, prompt the question, Who was the man? or at least, What manner of man was he? There is no answer.

Salisbury was the firstfruits of the new style: that new style of which the earliest phase had now reached perfection. Later developments are more excellent or less according to the standpoint from which they are viewed. Salisbury is of a time when perfection in the lancet style had been attained; nothing more was to be learnt in that manner; it is pure Gothic not only in its details but in its general conception. It is possible to suppose a work of greater genius; not one more pure and refined in its Doric simplicity.

It is usual to speak of Salisbury as a whole, built at one time and the work of one man, with the exception of the spire and the upper part of the tower and the west

front. But these are features somewhat too important to be brought in as exceptions. Without the emphasis of the steeple the whole composition changes. The west front, though it is not much later than the body of the church and is not recorded as a separate work, must be by another hand. With its rich arcadings and panellings it is in some sense a reversion. It is often spoken of as a sham. The phrase is not the happiest, but the façade is not pleasing in spite of a certain vigour and boldness.

The steeple is supposed to have been built at the very beginning of the fourteenth century. It is not a part of the original scheme, which contemplated something lighter and lower, something which they used to call a lantern: a term which seems to imply nothing more than that it was to be open to the church, not cut off by a vault—in short, that its windows would light the church. The four supporting piers were therefore not made very substantial. Indeed, it is extraordinary that an architect could have been found who would venture to load them with the lofty tower and spire. They had to be strengthened at a later time by straining arches across the transepts.¹

It is difficult to judge the interior of the church in these days, so much has it suffered at the hands of vandals. We need not go through the melancholy catalogue of the alterations made by Wyatt in 1789 by order of the dean and chapter. As far as possible the work has been undone, but a great deal of it consisted of destruction on a grand scale. Some of the more recent restorations have not been quite happy. The general cleaning of the walls, the renewal of many of the Purbeck shafts and the repolishing of the old ones, has given the place a hard and cold temper, and some parts have been decorated with disagreeable acid

¹ Compare Wells, p. 60; Canterbury, p. 161.

colours. The building is nearly as severe within as without. It is almost devoid of sculpture, and the architectural forms are the simplest possible. The main arcade stands on a low continuous wall—an arrangement peculiar to Salisbury. The triforium is peculiar, the four arches of each bay being embraced by one very flat arch ; the spandrels are pierced with plate-tracery ; this arcade is continuous, being unbroken by the vaulting shafts. The vista from end to end of the building, formed by Wyatt by the removal of the choir screen and the reredos, is one of the defects of the interior, and has been scarcely mitigated by the web-like iron screen and the inadequate reredos. The choir is richer than the nave. The Purbeck shafts cluster round the columns more closely, and the dog-tooth enrichment is used. The vaulted ceiling was painted, and this decoration has unfortunately been renewed in recent times. The capitals of the columns immediately to west and east of the eastern transept are carved with foliage instead of being simply moulded like all other capitals throughout the church. Affixed to the northern column is a windlass, and opposite to this there no doubt was, or is, a pulley in the centre of the vault. It is thought that the high altar formerly stood here, and that the object of the windlass was to raise and lower the pyx, which hung in front of the altar and contained the Sacrament. It would be, of course, on this account that the capitals were made richer than the others. The paintings of prophets and saints on the ceiling terminate at this point with a picture of Our Lord in Majesty.

Immediately to the east are two important memorials. On the north, under the last bay but one, is the chantry chapel of Bishop Audley. He died in 1524, but had erected this chapel a few years before. It is the best preserved monument in the cathedral, and is almost the only one which has not been moved ; it is, indeed,

one of the best examples extant of the latest phase of Gothic.

Opposite to Bishop Audley's monument is the iron grating which enclosed the monument of Walter, Lord Hungerford, a man of valour and piety, who flourished in the time of Henry V. He was with him at Agincourt, and it is said that it was he rather than the Earl of Westmorland who wished they had with them "but one ten thousand of those men in England that do no work to-day." It is a fine piece of medieval metal-work, and is usually compared with the later and more famous grating round the tomb of Henry VII at Westminster. It was removed from the nave in the eighteenth century. As an enclosure round the tomb of a warrior it must have been impressive; as a private pew, to which it has been converted, it falls not short of the grotesque.

Lord Walter's son Robert (d. 1459) was buried in a chantry chapel founded by his widow on the north side of the Lady chapel, but his effigy is now on the south side of the nave. On the other side of the Lady chapel stood the Beauchamp chapel, founded by Bishop Beauchamp (1450-81), Master of the Works at Windsor during the building of Saint George's Chapel. These two chapels, the Beauchamp and Hungerford, flanked the two easternmost bays of the Lady chapel. They were destroyed by Wyatt in the eighteenth century. Before leaving the Lady chapel notice the bold use of Purbeck marble shafting to carry the vault.

At the end of the south aisle is the portentous monument to Edward, Earl of Hertford (d. 1621), son of the Protector Somerset; and here also is buried his descendant Charles, 'the proud' Duke of Somerset (d. 1748), and his wife, the heiress of the Percys. Just to the north of this monument is the modest slab which commemorates Saint Osmund. Travelling west, you come to the

beautiful canopied tomb of Bishop Giles de Bridport (1257-62), between the aisle of the presbytery and that of the south-east transept. It was during his episcopate that the cathedral as Poore intended it was finished, and it is appropriate that his monument should be one of the most exquisite things in the church. The sculptures are supposed to represent scenes from the bishop's own life. In the opposite transept there is the remarkable brass to Bishop Robert Wyvill (1330-75). Its curious design is supposed to have allusion to his recovery of the castle of Sherborne and the chase of Bere. In this same transept there have been erected the beautiful remains of the old choir screen.

Among his other remarkable proceedings at Salisbury Wyatt had a sort of colossal game of Post with all the monuments in the church. In the nave he took advantage of the low wall on which the piers stand to form a podium or base for effigies brought from all parts of the church, and he has combined parts of different monuments with a fine disregard of history. Nevertheless, it is not altogether unimpressive to walk up the nave between the monotonous ranks of pompous and great lords, ancient bishops who ruled at the old fortress on the downs, and their more magnificent successors of the new town, leaders in the Crusades and partisans in the Roses. Here are the Longespées, Earls of Salisbury, in chain armour, and Lord Stourton, the murderer. Here is the gigantic Sir John Cheyney, standard-bearer to Henry of Richmond on Bosworth Field, who despite his great strength was overthrown by King Richard in his last onset before himself was killed; and here is a mysterious tiny figure in pontificals. Here are the figures of Robert, Lord Hungerford, magnificent in plate armour and SS collar, and Sir John de Montacute who fought at Crécy.

One of the most remarkable objects which fell a

prey to the fury of the eighteenth-century chapter was the detached belfry, a building contemporary with the church, standing at some distance to the north of the nave. It was a low, massive structure lighted by long lancets and surmounted by a curious lead-covered wood spire. These detached bell-towers were at one time not uncommon, but for one reason or another almost all have gone.¹

The cloisters and chapter-house date from the reign of Edward I. Though separated from the completion of the church by but a short interval of time, they exhibit a remarkable change in style. The cathedral gives, indeed, in the plate-tracery of its triforium, a foretaste of things to come; but in the cloisters and chapter-house bar-tracery is fully developed and is used on a bold scale. The cloister is perfectly uniform in style, and being a mere piece of architectural luxury it has not those little points of human interest which characterize a monkish cloister. In having its north walk detached from the church it is unusual. Over the north part of the east walk is the library built by Bishop Ayscough in 1444-45. It formerly extended over the whole of the east walk, but the southern part was taken down in the eighteenth century because it was considered that its weight was too great for the cloister walls. Bishop Ayscough fell a victim to the mob in Cade's rebellion, and it has been suggested that his love of book-learning was quite sufficient to excite the anger of the rabble.

The chapter-house is said to be a little later than the cloisters. It strongly resembles the chapter-house of Westminster, but is remarkable for its series of figure sculptures.² Those in the arch of the vestibule repre-

¹ See Chichester, p. 34.

² The best sculptures are, I think, the following:—The three first of Adam and Eve. Cain killing Abel. Building the Ark.

sent the Virtues triumphing over the Vices. They are full of spirit and movement, and have been pronounced by Burges to be far superior to those in the chapter-house. The latter represent the Creation and Old Testament history down to the Giving of the Law. The work is on too small a scale to do justice to the medieval sculptor, and it has been very much mutilated and restored, as indeed has the whole building. All the missing heads have been replaced, and the colouring of which there were remains has been renewed. The carved capitals of the arcade are varied and beautiful, and the heads which stop the hood moulds are extremely interesting and have delightful expressions.

Noah embarking and receiving back the Dove (one subject). Noah pruning the Vine. Two of Abraham entertaining the Angels. Jacob wrestling with the Angel, and his dream. The Meeting of Esau and Jacob (with Leah and Rachel behind). Joseph put into the well. Joseph sold. Joseph's coat brought to his father. Joseph accused by Potiphar's wife (or by Pharaoh's queen). The chief butler and the chief baker. Joseph interpreting Pharaoh's dream. Arrival of Joseph's brethren, and several subsequent scenes. The Destruction of Pharaoh's Army is interesting.

WELLS

THE diocese of Wells was created in 909 at the same time as that of Exeter, when both were cut off from the diocese of Sherborne. The first Norman bishop, John de Villula (1088-1122), removed the see to Bath, where there was a very ancient monastery of Benedictine monks. He rebuilt their church and made it his cathedral. And thus began the long connexion between Bath and Wells. Succeeding bishops were styled 'of Bath,' 'of Bath and Wells,' 'of Bath and Glastonbury,' until the episcopate of Roger (1244-47), since whose time the style has been 'of Bath and Wells.'

Of the Saxon church nothing is known. It is supposed to have continued till the episcopate of Robert of Lewes (1136-66), who rebuilt it wholly or in part, and consecrated the new work in 1148. This Norman church has disappeared as completely as the Saxon. It was entirely rebuilt by Bishop Reginald Fitz-Jocelin (1174-1191), a son of Jocelin de Bohun, Bishop of Salisbury. A good deal of the present building is his work.

Reginald no doubt began his rebuilding at the east end and worked westwards. His presbytery was short, consisting of only three bays beyond the tower; it was the same length as the present transepts. The aisle continued across the east end and opened into the presbytery by two or three arches. The transepts are spacious, having aisles both to east and west. The choir



WELLS FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

was placed partly under the central tower, but extended one bay into the nave. Bishop Reginald's work included at least a beginning of three more bays of the nave and the north porch. The dimensions of these parts clearly require a nave as long as the present nave, and the bishop may therefore be credited with the general plan of the present church, excepting, of course, the eastern extension. He lived just before the days of lengthened presbyteries. That Bishop Reginald so far finished his work that he was able to consecrate it, is probable for this reason : namely, that it was unusual for the rebuilding of a whole church to be in progress at the same time, for that would have interrupted the services, and it is known that work was going on in the nave during the episcopates of Reginald's successors. Reginald became Archbishop designate of Canterbury, but died before consecration.

The quality of Bishop Reginald's work may probably be best seen in the transepts and in the north porch. The upper part of his presbytery has been entirely altered both inside and out, and he probably did not carry any part of the nave to a very great height. The same general design was no doubt preserved throughout, but there is one noticeable difference between the nave and transepts. In the nave the triforium arcade is quite continuous, the vaulting shafts starting from corbels just above the triforium arches, of which there are three in each bay. This arrangement perhaps serves a purpose : it may add to the apparent length ; but the result is not entirely satisfactory. In the transepts there are but two arches to the bay, and the vaulting shafts are carried down to their sills. The main arcade is somewhat low, but the triforium is treated with a corresponding simplicity ; the clerestory is very lofty. The work is of high quality ; throughout there is a due subordination of the parts to the whole ; the detail

is restrained, but remarkably effective and full of variety and fancy.

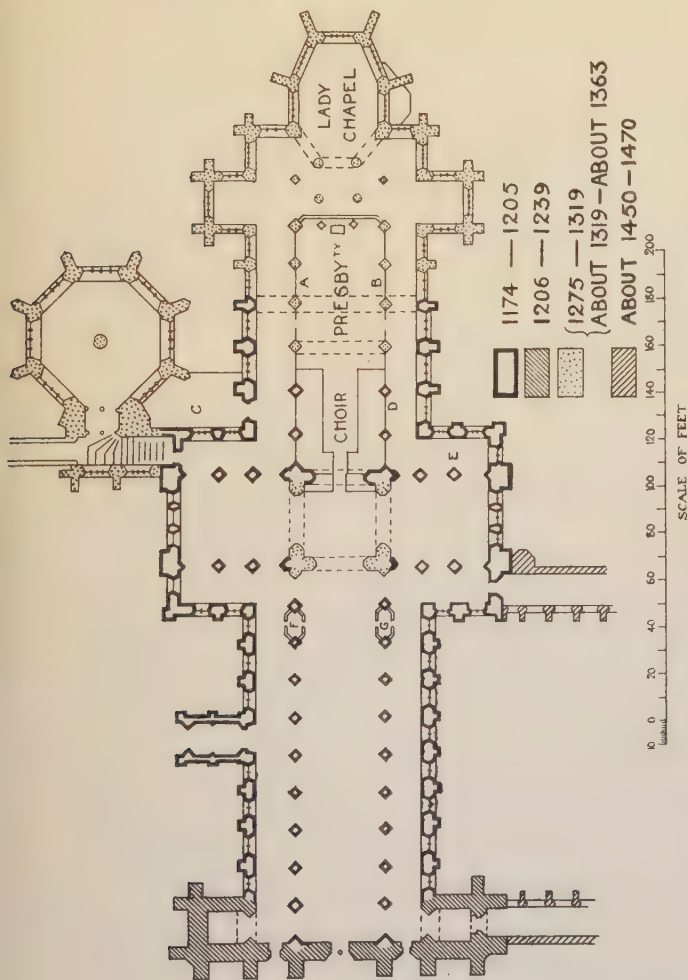
The north porch was the principal entrance to the church, and doubtless was from the first intended to be so. The importance given to the side entrance is characteristic of the canons' churches, and hence the Wells porch is elaborated to an extraordinary degree.¹ As in Reginald's other work, the outside is reserved and simple. But the inside, which could only be seen at close quarters, is very rich and playful.

The first of Reginald's successors was his relative, the truculent Savaric (1192-1205), whose energetic character may have enabled him to continue the rebuilding in spite of incessant travel and litigation. But the church is said to have become dilapidated when his successor, Jocelin Troteman (1206-1242), commonly called Jocelin of Wells, took the work in hand.

Jocelin was a native of Wells and brother of Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln—not the famous Saint Hugh. He was one of the canons of the collegiate church, as it then was; a man of affairs, famous for his benefactions to the foundation, for he made a large increase in the number of prebends and instituted a body of vicars choral, and still more famous as the finisher of the nave and the builder of the west front. He was one of the bishops who were obliged to leave the country in consequence of the Interdict of 1208, two years after his consecration. He returned with the others in 1213. We may suppose that it was soon after that that he began to build. At first he had to finish Reginald's nave, which had probably not proceeded to a very great height. He kept closely to the design of the transepts except, as we have seen, in the matter of the triforium. It is said that the three western bays are entirely Jocelin's, but the matter is of no great

¹ See Introduction.

importance, for their design departs in no respect from that of the rest. It was in the great west front that



WELLS. A tomb of Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury (1363). B of Bishop Beckington (1465). C passage to crypt of chapter-house. D monument of Bishop Button II (1274). E monument of Dean Husse (1305). F chantry chapel of Bishop Bubwith (1424). G chantry chapel of Chancellor Sugar (1489).

Jocelin's architect was able to show his mettle. He completed the work in 1239, sufficiently for the bishop to

consecrate it.¹ The flanking towers were then carried only so high as the parapet of the nave roof. The upper parts were built long afterwards, but their general proportions are probably not very dissimilar from those intended by Jocelin. The southern tower is by Bishop Harewell (1367-86), and the northern by the executors of Bishop Bubwith (d. 1424).

It is for its west front that Wells is chiefly famous. At this time English architects were hankering after a façade. The western transepts of Ely had been finished late in the previous century, and a large porch crowded with niches had just been added; the great portico of Peterborough was in building; the noble towers of Lincoln were shortly to be masked by an immense screen; and at Salisbury, but two days' ride from Wells, the west front of the new church had probably been begun. To Salisbury, it is said, Bishop Jocelin made many visits, but the two schemes are absolutely different. The east end of Ely is more in sympathy with Wells.

In Jocelin's great sculptured front the emphasis of the main features is never lost, in spite of the extraordinary boldness with which the decorative scheme is carried across from side to side. This is perhaps the greatest technical triumph in a triumphant achievement. The architectural detail is rich, even elaborate, but it is always clear and large; it is strong in light and shade, but the great masses of the building are so bold that they can afford this; there is no lack of repose, and the richness is relieved by broad plain surfaces.

Not very many of the figures have distinctive emblems and it is therefore impossible to identify with certainty more than a few of them. This makes it difficult to guess what was Bishop Jocelin's general idea in his selection and arrangement of persons and subjects.

¹ The west front is believed to have been begun in 1220, and to have been finished in 1242, before the death of the bishop, which happened in that year.

Canon Church thought that it was a "commemoration of the faithful departed, the representation of the Church of the living God under its twofold aspect as (1) the Church militant here on earth, (2) the Church of the Resurrection, the Court of Heaven." Professor Lethaby sees in it "the ever renewed Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin." The close examination of the sculptures which Mr. St. John Hope and Professor Lethaby have made seems to give the following results.¹

Over the central door Our Lady and Child and the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin. To north and south of these were statues, most of which are lost, but which may have represented typical personages from the Old Testament on the south and from the New Testament on the north. Over each pair of niches and under the embracing gablets is the half-length figure of an angel. Over the gablets are scenes from scripture setting forth the Old Law and the New: to the south the creation of Adam, going south, to the death of Jacob, and on the north Saint John the Evangelist and probably the Annunciation, going north, to the Ascension. Above these are two great tiers of images, those to the south being almost all bishops, abbots, hermits; those to the north, kings, queens, nobles, warriors, of saintly life, with some of the most famous martyrs, as Saint Alban, Saint Thomas of Canterbury, Saint Eustace. The central figures in the lower of these tiers are thought by Professor Lethaby to be Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.² The identifications that have been made suggest that almost all the persons in these two rows were English. Among them are twelve, of whom nine are kings, standing on small prostrate figures, and Mr. Hope says that they "must therefore be martyrs"; among them is Saint Edward, king and martyr, trampling on his stepmother. Over these two rows of figures are small

¹ *Archæologia*, NS. ix. (1904).

² Compare Rochester, p. 168.

pictures of the Rising of the Dead. These crown and complete the greater part of the composition, but the central part is carried up higher to form a square gable for the nave roof. This part contains two rows of images, the lower one being the nine orders of angels and the upper one the twelve Apostles. Highest of all is Our Lord in Majesty; the niches on either side of Him are now empty. These two rows of figures are not, like the rest of the sculpture, contemporary with the building: the orders of angels were probably put up in the third quarter of the fourteenth century on the completion of the south tower; the Apostles in the middle of the fifteenth century when the north tower was finished.

This great composition marks perhaps the high-water level of architectural sculpture in England. Greater knowledge and technical skill were acquired later; far greater skill in portraiture. But this early work has a quiet dignity, a fitness, and an indifference to petty detail which the later sculpture often lacks. It shows a consummate instinct for architectural propriety. There is exactly the right amount of variety; not too little and (what is almost more important) not too much. Great judgement is shown in the arrangement: thus the armed warriors, for instance, instead of being scattered, for the sake of balance and variety, are all grouped together.

If the Bishop and his artists could return and see the work which we regard with so much complacency they could not but be filled with disgust, for they had none of our insane liking for weather stains and decay. Everything should be fresh, bright and clear. The whole of the work was first covered with a wash of ochre, and then many parts, one might say most parts, were enriched with bright colours. Thus, to give but a few instances, in the group of the Virgin and Child, Our Lady's robe

was red and the mantle black with a green lining ; our Saviour's robe was crimson. The small plug holes round the head of the Virgin and in other places were for fixing ornaments, probably of gilded metal. The whole of the doorway was coloured and gilt. The quatre-foils containing the Bible stories had coloured mouldings and some of the subjects still show some colouring besides the ground tint. Traces of gold are seen round the sleeve and on the crown held by an angel. Many of the statues had colour, red on the lips and black on the eyes and hair ; and no doubt all were so treated at first. The row of angels near the top, 'the bright seraphim in burning row,' were coloured a rosy red from head to foot. The work seen in its first freshness, in the glow of an autumn afternoon, must have been a glorious sight, an 'undisturbed song of pure content.'

Jocelin died in 1242, and was buried in the middle of the choir. Besides his great works at the church and his large increase of the establishment, he had built a great palace at Wells. It must have been clear, therefore, that though he was called "Bishop of Bath and Glastonbury," and after 1219 "Bishop of Bath," yet it was Wells that was destined to be the cathedral of the future. On Jocelin's death, the monks of Bath, jealous of the growing importance of Wells, stole a march upon their rivals. Contrary to agreement, they elected a bishop without consulting the canons, and hastily secured the sanction of the King and the Pope's confirmation. The matter is not important otherwise than that it crippled the finances of the canons of Wells by plunging them into expensive litigation, and that it led ultimately to the chapter having an equal share in the election of future bishops. But the pause in the building works caused by the debt is hardly noticeable. Roger (1244-47), the bishop chosen by the monks of Bath, and the first to be called "Bishop of Bath and

Wells," was succeeded by the first William Bitton or Button (1248-64). By the exertions and sacrifices of the canons the debt was quickly reduced, and the bishop, after some differences with them in respect of the trespass of his pigs, assisted them with money. Good Bishop Bitton was one of those whose charity begins at home : the Archdeacon of Wells, the precentor, the treasurer, and two successive provosts of Combe, were all his brothers and nephews. The second provost became Dean of Wells and afterwards Bishop of Exeter, and the archdeacon succeeded after a short interval as Bishop of Wells. Bitton's immediate successor, Walter Gifford (1265-66), was also a relative or connexion. Gifford was translated to York, and William Bitton the second became bishop (1267-74).

The claims to fame of this second Bitton rest on far more solid foundations than those of his uncle. He was eminent for his piety. When Robert Kilwardby was to be consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, he chose Bitton to perform the rite on the ground of his saintly life. Bitton gave to the chapter a body of statutes and to the diocese a cure for the toothache. He died in 1274, and was buried in the south aisle of the presbytery. Though never officially canonized, he was always spoken of by the people of the diocese as Saint William, and they crowded to his tomb for relief from their pain. The offerings which they made were more than enough to re-establish the solvency of the chapter ; and with the help of further contributions from the canons, building operations were begun again about 1286.

The first work to be undertaken was the repair of various parts which had been damaged by an earthquake in 1248. Among them are certain famous capitals in the south transept. On those of the second pier of the western aisle there is carved the figure of a man ex-

tracting a thorn from his foot, and another of a man with the toothache. This last is supposed to mark the work as posterior to the death of Saint William. The next capital tells a dramatic story in four acts of the capture of some grape-stealers.

When these repairs were done, the chapter-house and the staircase leading to it were put in hand. The octagonal undercroft of the chapter-house had been built some time, perhaps also the passage leading to it ; but here again the swollen face and kerchief suggest the miracle-working tomb of the blessed William. The raised chapter-house in an upper storey is an arrangement which we find nowhere else, though it formerly existed at Saint Paul's, and may have been intended at Llandaff. Its object is not apparent. The character of the work in the staircase is somewhat earlier in style than that of the chapter-house itself. But this is due simply to the progress of the work having been slow even after it had been resumed. Probably the staircase was done by Bishop Robert Burnell (1275-92), the successor of Saint William, and the chapter-house by his successor, William de la March. The windows and vault were made in 1319 by Dean Godelee (1306-33). Chapter-house and staircase together make a remarkably fine building, though in the fifty years that had passed since the west front was finished the art had perhaps lapsed a little. The staircase is a charming instance of the ease with which the medieval builders managed an irregular building ; the mere sweep of the steps as altered to lead to the bridge over the road gives one pleasure.

Before the chapter-house was well finished, another work was put in hand by Dean Godelee, important in itself and in its indirect results. In 1315 the central tower was begun. It had been left, like the western towers, a mere stump, though in this case level with

the ridge of the roof instead of with the springing. The work was finished in 1321. But in 1338 it began to appear that the added weight was too much for the piers. They began to sink into the ground, we are told ; perhaps the piers themselves yielded. In either case, the masonry was being torn to pieces. Dean Godelee, happily for him, had died five years before, and so was spared the distress of witnessing the failure. The steps taken to avert disaster were bold and efficacious. Additional masonry was built against the piers, and arches supporting inverted arches were thrown across under three sides of the tower.

To return to the works of Dean Godelee. He it was who built the present Lady chapel. The work was perhaps begun after the chapter-house was finished (1319), but it must have been before he had roofed in the central tower (1321), for he consecrated the building in 1326. The plan is one which is found with variations in other canons' churches,¹ having aisles and small transepts. It is unusual in having a polygonal apse—or rather, the whole building is an irregular octagon, the three western sides of which are supported on arches. The design is not quite first-rate, and is weak when compared with the earlier work at Wells. But there are some lovely internal effects and much fine old glass, though mostly in a fragmentary condition.

It must be remembered that the presbytery of the church was till now but three bays long with an aisle across the east end. But while the Lady chapel was being built, the presbytery, damaged by the earthquake of 1248, was to a great extent reconstructed, and appears to have been finished at about the same time as the Lady chapel. The old plan was preserved, the original main arcade being in fact unaltered, but all above it was rebuilt. The triforium was not reproduced in the

¹ See Introduction.

new work; in place of the arcade there is a row of canopy work.

The work was barely finished when Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury began an extension of the presbytery whereby he connected it with the new Lady chapel. He carried his new east wall on three arches, thus preserving the character of the old east end, and connected his aisles with Dean Godelee's work. What had been the intention of the dean, and how much of the scheme was his idea, it is difficult to say. Nor do we know when the bishop finished his work. He lived till 1363, so that even the east window and other parts with Perpendicular tendencies may be his work. Bishop Ralph's east end has the merit of unity with the side walls, which is more than can be said for much early work in which the parts taken separately are better. There was no doubt a large and richly coloured wood reredos—perhaps so large as to practically block the three arches.

Bishop Ralph's more famous work was the charming vicars' close. As we see it now, with its forty-two little houses and hall and chapel, it is in great part the work of his successors, especially of Nicholas Bubwith and Thomas de Beckington. Bishop Bubwith (1407-24) was buried on the north side of the nave, where his tomb and the altar he endowed are enclosed by a very elegant screen. On the work is carved his arms with holly leaves prettily 'conjoined.' Opposite to this chantry chapel of the Holy Cross is that of Saint Edmund, founded by Doctor Hugh Sugar, Treasurer and Chancellor of Wells, and one of Bishop Beckington's executors. His arms, three sugar-loaves surmounted by a doctor's cap, may be seen.

Bishop Beckington (1443-65), whose rebus, a beacon and a tun, may be seen on various buildings, had been a protégé of William of Wykeham, and had a full share

of his master's love of building. His most important work was the series of towers, gates, and walls with which he surrounded the cathedral, including the famous Chain Gate forming a bridge from the chapter-house staircase to the vicars' close. He and his executors built the west walk of the cloisters with the rooms over it. The eastern alley had been finished in 1458, and the south a few years after. Beckington built the wing of the palace which runs parallel with the moat, and he spent large sums on the other palaces, of which the bishops of Wells had a goodly number. The palace at Wells had been begun by Bishop Jocelin in the first half of the thirteenth century. Bishop Burnell (d. 1292) had added an enormous hall with nave and aisles, but this was dismantled in the middle of the sixteenth century by Cornelius Burges,¹ and the walls which had been left standing were partly destroyed in the first half of the nineteenth in order to make them 'more picturesque.' This Bishop Burnell, not one of the saints but one of the giants of English History, was the great lawgiver under the first Edward. The gatehouse and fortifications are the work of Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury of the middle of the fourteenth century.

Beckington was buried in the south side of the presbytery. His tomb and chapel have suffered somewhat from 'restoration.' The iron rail which protected it and the reredos of the altar have been removed to the chapel of Saint Calixtus in the south transept. The reredos is a particularly charming piece of work; the two demi-angels with long wing feathers are admirably treated.

The great men whose works have now been told, with others of no name, sleep in and round the choir and presbytery. In the middle of the choir is the place where Jocelin de Wells was buried. To south

¹ See Saint Paul's, p. 11.

and north are the monuments of Saint William Bitton and of early bishops. In a bay further to the east is the tomb of the great Ralph of Shrewsbury, finisher of the church, removed, it is said, from its place of honour in front of the high altar; opposite is that of the princely Beckington. We seek in vain for the grave of good Bishop Ken; he lies in the churchyard of Frome. In the chapel of Saint Calixtus is the tomb of Dean Husse (died 1305), with most excellent sculpture. The north transept contains the monument of Bishop Kidder (1691-1703), who replaced Bishop Ken, and of Mrs. Kidder. The bishop and his wife were killed in their bed by the fall of a chimney stack in the great gale of 1703, commemorated by Addison in 'The Campaign':

So when an angel, by divine command,
With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,
Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past.

EXETER

THE diocese of Exeter may be said to date from 909, when the large diocese of Sherborne was divided into three: Sherborne, Wells, and Crediton. Sherborne later became Salisbury. To Crediton, which had formerly been the see for Devon, there was afterwards given the county and diocese of Cornwall, and in 1049 the see was removed to Exeter. The church of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Peter and Saint Mary became the cathedral, and the monks were replaced by canons living according to the rule of Saint Chrodegang, that is, having a common table and a common dormitory.

Architectural history begins with Bishop William de Warelwast (1107-36), chaplain and, it has been said, nephew to the Conqueror. He replaced the Saxon church by one which, though almost entirely rebuilt, has handed down to the present church a notable character. It appears to have had a short choir with aisles terminating in three apses, a nave probably of about the same length as the present nave, and two towers which still stand and form the most striking features of the building.

Warelwast's episcopate of nearly thirty years did not see the completion of the new church, which was, moreover, much injured by fire during the siege of the city by Stephen in 1136. The bishop, who had become blind, resigned in that year and took the habit of an Augustinian canon in the priory which he had founded



EXETER. THE NORTH TOWER

at Plympton. He died in the following year. The church was not finished till the bishopric of Henry Marshall (1194-1206), brother of the earl-marshal. His effigy is under the third arch from the east on the north side of the presbytery.

Some alterations to the east end of the church were made by Bishop Bronescombe (1257-80). On his death, Edward I gave the Chapter leave to elect a successor, and they chose Prebendary Peter Quivil, a native of the city. He justified their choice. Letting politics alone, he devoted himself to his diocese and took in hand the rebuilding of the cathedral on liberal lines. Beginning with the towers, he made new arches in the sides next to the church, thereby converting them into two transepts. The old arches, which were probably narrower, had been blocked by screen walls perhaps contemporary with the towers. The architectural character of the interior was remodelled, and the chapels, probably apsidal, which projected eastward were rebuilt in square form.

Some later alterations of this part of the church may be noted here. The clerestory passage is carried into the transepts and gives access to galleries; these are carried on corbelling in the form of half-vaults. Large windows were also made in the transept ends with elaborate tracery. These works are early fourteenth century. The screens which enclose the projecting chapels of Saint Paul and Saint John Baptist are good work by Bishop Oldham (1504-19). In the corner of the north transept there is an excellent little enclosed chapel founded in 1485 by William Sylke, sub-chanter, who was buried there in 1508. Within are some perishing remains of painting. This transept also contains a famous medieval clock, and in the tower above hangs the great bell.

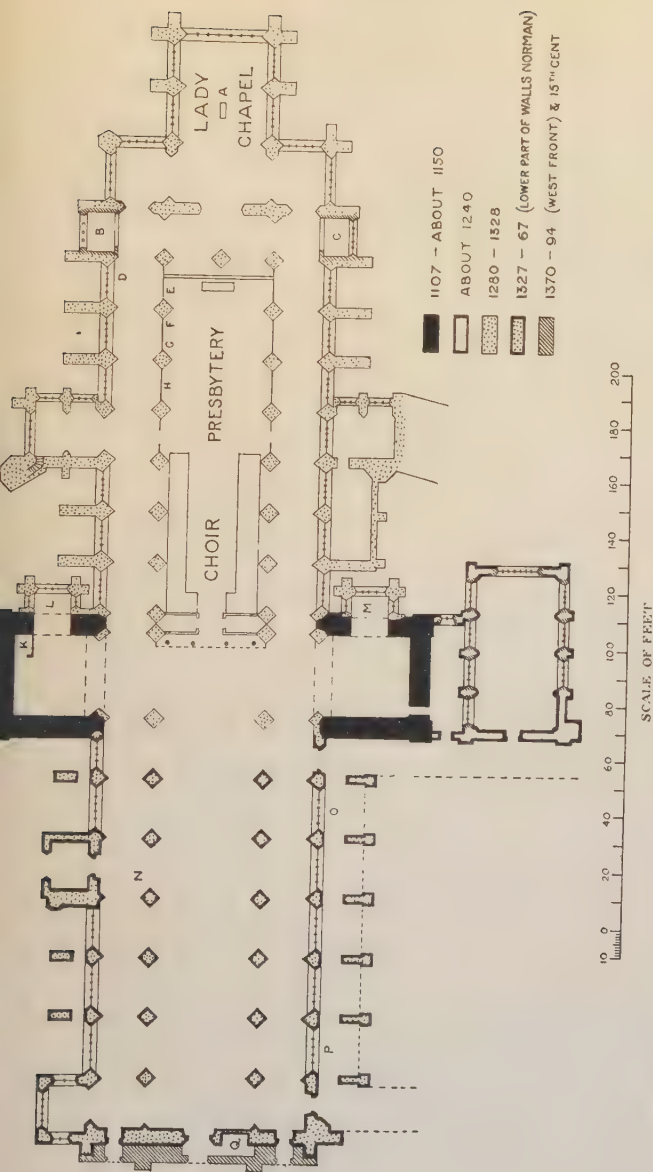
To return to Bishop Quivil. His more important

undertaking was the eastward extension of the church. The exact point to which the work was carried during his lifetime is difficult to determine, but there can be little doubt that he laid down the general lines of the building in all essentials very much as we have it to-day, and gave to it its admirable proportions and harmonious effect. The planning of the east end is remarkable and ingenious. The aisle is carried across the square east end, the presbytery terminating in two low arches over which is a wide squat window interesting in itself but not perfect in its relations with its surroundings. It is filled with remarkably fine old glass. This square-ambulatory arrangement is characteristic of the west of England.¹ Externally the aisle does not show ; it becomes a part of the group of chapels of which the Lady chapel forms the centre. The side walls of the angle bays of the aisles were moved out at a later time so as to form chantry chapels. That to the south is Bishop Oldham's (1504-19), dedicated to Our Saviour. You may see his rebus : an *owl* holding a scroll on which is inscribed *dom*. He was co-founder with Bishop Fox (1487-91) of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The chapel on the north side was founded by Thomas Speke in 1518, in honour of Saint George. On the outer face of its walls are still to be seen the twelve consecration crosses.² A complete set such as this is excessively rare. There were, of course, twelve more crosses inside, but they were no doubt painted, and cleanings and restorations have made away with them.

The Lady chapel is an exquisite little building, with admirable sculpture and perfect tracery. The arches in the westernmost bay open north and south into the not less perfect chapels of Saint Mary Magdalene and Saint Gabriel. In the middle sleeps the founder,

¹ Salisbury, Wells, Hereford, Saint Davids.

² Eleven only are actually visible.



EXETER. A tomb of Bishop Quivil (1291). B chantry chapel of Thomas Speke. C of Bishop Oldham (1519). D tomb of Sir Richard Stapleton. E of Bishop Stapleton (1326). F of Bishop Bradbridge (1578). G of Bishop Lacey (1455). H of Bishop Marshall (1206). K chantry chapel of William Sylke (1508). L chapel of Saint Paul. M chapel of Saint John Baptist. N minstrels' gallery over this bay of the aisle. O P two of Bishop Marshall's consecration crosses. Q tomb of Bishop Grandison (1369).

Bishop Quivil, under a marble slab with a foliated cross and short Latin inscription: a memorial most dignified in its simplicity. All round are stately monuments from Norman times to the days of the Tudors.

Quivil's work probably included the four easternmost bays of the presbytery with the aisles and the two-storeyed transeptal chapels of Saint Andrew and Saint James. The Norman choir was probably still standing at the time of his death, for in the three western bays as we now see them there is a slight difference in the triforium. This part was rebuilt and the whole of the eastern limb of the church was practically finished by Quivil's two successors, Thomas Button (1292-1307) and Walter de Stapeldon (1308-26), for the high altar was consecrated in 1328.

Stapeldon, who had been unanimously elected by the canons, was, like many of the early bishops of Exeter, a Devon man of good family. He was also a scholar and a most liberal benefactor of the cathedral. His gifts are computed to be equal to forty thousand pounds of our money, and jointly with his brother he founded Stapeldon Hall in Oxford, now known as Exeter College. But as an adherent of Edward II he incurred the popular fury. He was attacked by the London mob, dragged from Saint Paul's, where he had taken refuge, and beheaded at Cheapside Cross. He was buried on the north side of the high altar under a remarkable monument.

Close by are some other notable memorials. On the other side of the aisle opposite to the tomb of Bishop Stapeldon is the monument of his brother, Sir Richard Stapeldon (d. 1330), with a recumbent effigy, at the head and feet of which stand esquires—he at the feet holds the knight's horse. Farther west is the monument of Bishop Bradbridge (1570-78), an interesting mixture of Gothic and Renaissance, and the miracle-working

tomb of Bishop Lacey (1420-55), the resort of many a pilgrim. In the next bay is the simple but fine monument of Bishop Marshall (d. 1206), the finisher of the original church. The screen which here divides the presbytery from the aisle appears to be late fourteenth century.

Bishop Stapeldon's completion of the choir included the remarkable bishop's throne and the sedilia. The much-admired choir screen is said to have been the last of his works, and to have been finished in 1324. The side arches were originally backed by solid walls, so that they formed recesses, open towards the nave, in which altars were placed. The walls were removed by Sir Gilbert Scott, apparently as a concession to those who wanted to abolish the whole screen.

Thus was the choir of Exeter finished as the hey-day of English architecture began to wane. Warelwast, Quivil, and Stapeldon found worthy successors in Grandison, the builder of the nave, and Brantyngham, who finished the west front and built the cloister.

John Grandison (1327-69) descended from the dukes of Burgundy and from the lords of Ewias near Hereford. He is spoken of as the most magnificent of all the bishops of Exeter. He had been attached to the papal court, an honour which seems always to have made great demands upon the purse. At the beginning of his episcopate the revenues of the see were much reduced, and he sought for a loan from his cousin, the Baron of Okehampton, who sent instead some good advice about reducing his expenditure. He opposed the entrance of Archbishop Mepham, whose right of visitation he disputed, by the simple process of shutting the cathedral door in his face and drawing up his armed men in front of it. "This affront," says Fuller, "did half break Mepham's heart, and the Pope siding with the Bishop of Exeter, did break the other half."

Grandison nevertheless is spoken of as simple and frugal in his way of living, and he prepared for his own burial the little chapel of Saint Radegund at the extreme west end of the church. He was a good scholar, diligent in his diocese, and an energetic builder. His elder brother having died without issue, he became very wealthy. He spent liberally himself on his church, and was a successful beggar from others. Besides benefactions to several old foundations, he founded a college of forty members at Saint Mary Ottery, and greatly enlarged the church, where the effigy of one of his brothers may be seen to this day.

When Grandison became bishop, the Norman nave of Warewast and Marshall still stood. This the bishop rebuilt and completed in his own lifetime, probably consecrating it on 21st November 1367, two years before his death. It would seem, however, that he did not entirely destroy the old walls of the aisles, or at least not that of the south aisle, for on this there are two consecration crosses¹ of earlier date. The character of their sculpture belongs to the thirteenth century, and shows them to belong to the church which was finished by Bishop Marshall before 1206. It will be noticed that just below the westernmost of these crosses is one left unfinished, and the way in which this is blocked out shows that the design was similar to that of the completed one. There are faint indications of a similar false start under the easternmost cross. The western crosses would also prove, if proof were necessary, that Grandison did not add four bays to the nave as some have supposed.

Internally the nave is most admirable and harmonious. The general design is a continuation of Quivil's work in the presbytery. The simple though excellent main arcade is built of Purbeck marble in

¹ Compare Salisbury.

horizontal courses, and the capitals are simply moulded. The triforium is diminished to a mere blind arcade, and indeed seems to form a part of the clerestory. The clerestory itself has very large windows, the heads of which are tucked behind the vault. The vault is many ribbed and has very large bosses with heraldic and other sculpture. In all these respects Exeter is highly characteristic of its age. There is some lack of that fine modelling in which the previous century excelled—as, for instance, in most of the corbels which support the vaulting shafts ; but no doubt some parts were enriched by colour, and we must make allowance for the loss of this. Even the plaster has been stripped from the vault, a proceeding which Grandison would have regarded as sheer lunacy.

An interesting feature in the nave is the Minstrels' Gallery, or upper chamber over the same bay of the north aisle which contains the entrance. This upper chamber opens into the nave by an archway in a line with the clerestory windows. The gallery front is slightly projected into the nave, and is ornamented with a row of figures of angels in niches playing upon a variety of instruments.

The west front—a curious and, it must be confessed, rather ugly composition—was the last work of Bishop Grandison. The shallow porch, forming a sort of screen covered with remarkable sculpture, is the work of his successor, Thomas Brantyngham (1370-94). Above the supporting angels is a long row of kings, bishops, and other mighty men ; over these are prophets, apostles, and saints ; while the whole is crowned by quaint figures looking down from the battlements.

Bishop Brantyngham also completed the cloisters, of which now hardly a fragment remains, on the south side of the nave. From the east pane the chapter-house is entered. This is now used as a library, and is a

beautiful and most interesting building. The lower part is of the thirteenth century ; it has rich arcades with Purbeck marble shafts and carved capitals. The upper portion is attributed to Bishop Lacey (1420-55), and the east window to Bishop Neville (1458-65). The richly decorated wood roof is nearly flat ; it is said to be the gift of Bishop Bothe (1465-78). The increase in height made in the fifteenth century, and the passage which has been formed at the west end, have somewhat injured the proportions of the room and make it look rather short.

Here ends the architectural history of Exeter cathedral church, for the work which has been done since the Reformation has been chiefly repair and cleansing. Bishop Seth Ward (1662-67) repaired and beautified the church at great cost, and drove out those who had set up shops within it.

The most notable scene that the walls have witnessed during that or perhaps any time is the entry of William of Orange into the city and his attendance at a solemn service at the cathedral when he occupied the bishop's throne. The bishop, after exhorting all to be loyal to James, had fled, and had been followed by the dean. The canons stood aloof. The prebendaries and singers attended the service, but crowded in all haste out of the choir when Burnet began to read the Prince's Declaration. All which things are to be read in the pages of Macaulay.

HEREFORD

HEREFOED became permanently the seat of a bishop so early as 673, when Archbishop Theodore divided the kingdom of Mercia into several dioceses. Nothing is known of the early buildings. The church was rebuilt by Æthelstan in the first half of the eleventh century, but was destroyed or partly destroyed by the Irish and Welsh in 1055. "They burned the town, and the great minster which the venerable Bishop Æthelstan had before caused to be built, that they plundered and bereaved of relics and vestments and of all things, and slew the folk and led some away." The following year the bishop died, and was buried in the ruined church. His successor, a man of the sword and formerly mass priest to Harold, led an expedition into Wales, but was defeated and killed. The see was then vacant for four years, and the church appears to have remained partly at least in ruins till it was rebuilt by Bishop Robert de Losinga (1079-95), a relative, it is thought, of Herbert de Losinga, first Bishop of Norwich and builder of that cathedral.

Robert de Losinga, we are told, took as his model the church of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). Exactly what this means it is difficult to say, for Charlemagne's church at Aachen has an octagonal nave with a sixteen-sided aisle running round it—in fact, the plan has a general resemblance to that of the Temple church in London.

The Norman plan at Hereford consists of a choir

of three bays, a central tower, a nave of eight bays, and a transept (the south arm only is Norman) with a small building projecting from it eastwards. The eastern termination of the choir has been rebuilt, and the Norman arrangement cannot be exactly determined. It is generally thought that a square chamber, the arched entrance to which still remains, projected eastwards from the choir and that the aisles ended in apses. The square chamber or retrochoir was rebuilt about 1190.

The Norman work at Hereford is very rich : notice the capitals and arches of the nave arcade. The triforium and clerestory of the nave are modern. When the west tower fell in 1786 and destroyed one bay of the nave, the work of repair was entrusted to Wyatt, an architect much thought of by the cathedral chapters in his day. He seized the opportunity of rebuilding the two upper stages, " imitated from the Early English of Salisbury," and of constructing a wooden groined vault. The old triforium had been a " wall arcade without a passage, consisting of two circular arches in each bay, each arch circumscribing two smaller ones. The clerestory had one lofty circular arch in each bay, and had a passage throughout."

There remain two other pieces of Norman work to notice : the font and the bishop's palace. A great part of the present palace is built within the Norman hall, a great room with nave and aisles separated by wooden columns, like the hall of Farnham Castle, the palace of the bishops of Winchester.

At the end of the twelfth century the eastern part of the church—the retrochoir—was rebuilt ; the work is a very interesting example of the transition from Norman to Gothic. The windows have pointed arches enriched with bold Gothic mouldings and a Norman enrichment, while the capitals of the shafts have good Early English foliage. This part is vaulted in two



DEXTER R.B.A.

HEREFORD FROM THE NORTH-WEST

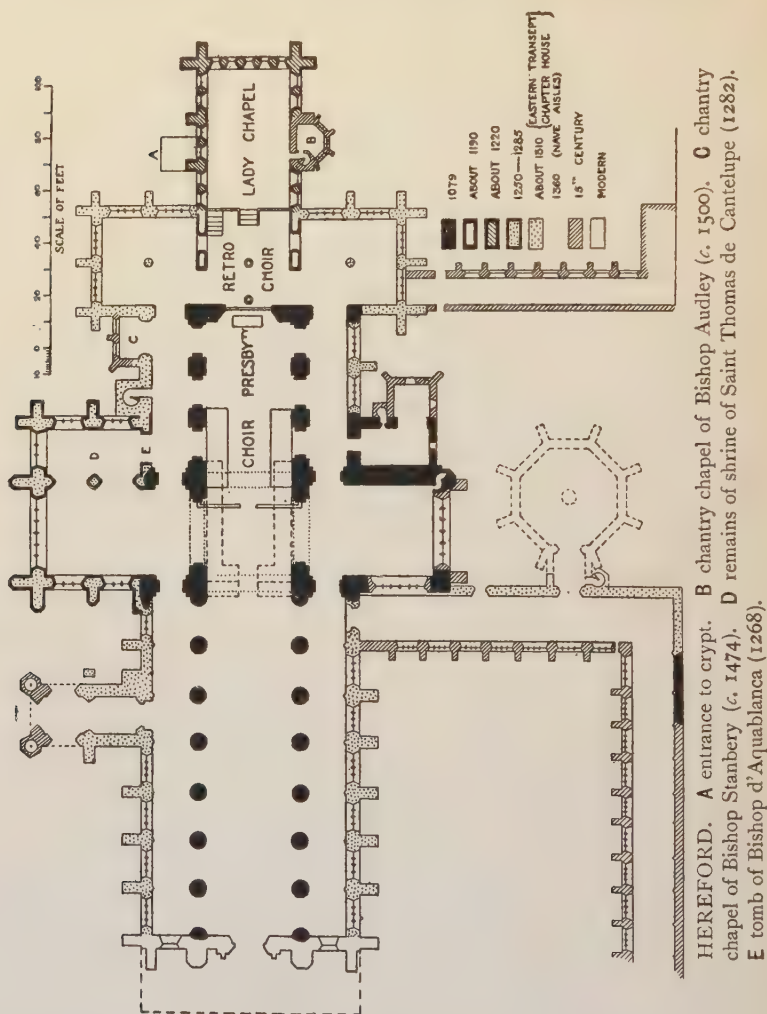
square bays, so arranged that one of the columns carrying the vaulting stands in the middle of the Norman arch and the spandrel above is visible from the choir. The effect is not very happy. The whole thing was hidden in 1717, as it probably had been in the Middle Ages, by a wooden reredos. This has since been removed, the spandrel has been decorated with sculptured panels and foliage, and a new low reredos has been put up.

This retrochoir was not long afterwards modified in order to convert it into a vestibule to the Lady chapel, which was built early in the thirteenth century. This chapel is an excellent example of early Gothic work with lancet windows richly moulded and carved. The east wall is a 'restoration,' but like other restorations it may have some resemblance to the original work. The building is remarkable in having a crypt, an unusual feature in work of so late a date. The crypt was intended for the preservation of human remains disturbed in digging the foundations of the new chapel, and otherwise. There is a Gothic crypt under the chancel of a neighbouring parish church, and there is at Norwich cathedral an example of a bone-house.¹ The picturesque two-storeyed chapel which projects from the centre bay on the south side was built by Bishop Audley (1492-1502) as a place, no doubt, for his own burial and where masses could be chanted for his soul. But as he was translated to Salisbury, he built another chapel in the cathedral there.

The next work to be undertaken was the rebuilding of the north transept, probably begun about 1250 and finished about 1285. It is a curious and rich piece of work, and makes an interesting contrast with the fine Norman south transept. The windows are filled with geometrical tracery. The arches of the two lower stages are remarkable: the arcs are hardly at all curved,

¹ See also Worcester, p. 198; Newcastle, p. 331.

and are struck from centres far below the springing. On the east side of the transept there is an aisle, but



to the west there is none ; on this side there are very lofty windows of exquisite proportions.

Under the arch between this transept and the aisle of the choir is the tomb of the builder of the transept, Bishop d'Aquablanca (1240-68), with a very delicate canopy of arches and gablets supported on Purbeck marble shafts. Alongside the tomb of the bishop is that of his nephew John, dean of Hereford (d. 1320). In the centre of the transept aisle is the base of the shrine of Saint Thomas de Cantelupe, bishop from 1275 to 1282.

Cantelupe's is the most famous name in the long line of bishops of Hereford. He lived in one of the most stirring periods of English history and in one of the greatest periods of English architecture. The son of a baron, he combined with great personal piety a good deal of the baronial spirit. He withstood not only Edward I, but the Earl of Gloucester, of whom it is said the King himself was afraid. He forced two thousand Welshmen to retreat by the sheer solemnity of his excommunications, and he overawed even the undergraduates of Oxford.

The bishop died abroad in 1282. His bones were brought to England and buried first in the Lady chapel, but were afterwards removed to the transept aisle. Many miracles were performed at his tomb, to which many pilgrims flocked, and about forty years after his death he received canonization, being the last Englishman so honoured before the Reformation. The pedestal of the tomb is an admirable piece of work surrounded by sculptures of Knights Templars, of whose order the bishop was Provincial Grand Master. The personal arms of the bishop (gules, three leopards' heads jessant, with a fleur-de-lis issuing from the mouth, or) were adopted as those of the diocese.

Bishop de Cantelupe had been lavish in his liberality and an enthusiastic builder, but he did no very notable work at the cathedral. The number of pilgrims who

made offerings, great or small, at his shrine must have brought large revenues to the chapter exchequer, and will account for the extensive building operations of the following century. The upper part of the central tower dates from the early years of the fourteenth century. The eastern transept and nave aisles followed, including the inner or enclosed part of the north porch. The aisles were not entirely rebuilt, the lower part of the walls being Norman; the contracts for this work, dating between 1360 and 1364, have been preserved. The chapter-house, a ten-sided building, entered through a vestibule, was also of the fourteenth century. It was destroyed by the Parliament troops. The choir stalls are of this period. The choir itself is enclosed by a modern metal screen, which was formerly admired.

The Perpendicular style is not represented by any large amount of work at Hereford. The cloisters are of this period. They formed a connecting link between the church, the chapter-house, and the palace, and were not like a monastic cloister, the living-place of a community. Hence the sunny north walk, so precious to the monk, was unnecessary at Hereford and was omitted.¹ Indeed, like so much medieval work, the canons' cloisters were built more for the love of building than for any other reason. The west walk was destroyed in the reign of Edward VI to make room for a grammar school, since removed. The site is now occupied by a new library. Here are preserved, together with the newer books, the large collection of old chained volumes brought from the ancient library over the aisle of the north transept. Part of the cloister itself is also used as a lending library for the use of the clergy of the diocese.

The remaining works of the fifteenth century are mostly of a memorial character. After Bishop Audley's

¹ Compare Chichester and Wells.

chapel (1492-1502), to the south of the Lady chapel, already noticed, the most important is Bishop Stanbery's chantry chapel, built against the north wall of the north choir aisle. This presumably dates from a little before or a little after the bishop's death in 1474. The chapel is a good rich piece of Perpendicular work with a fan-traceried vault.

The last work in the cathedral, now that everything of post-Reformation date has been removed, is Bishop Booth's addition to the north porch. This building is of remarkable design. It is open on three sides, the arches being supported on hexagonal turrets forming the angles of the porch and containing staircases leading to the room above. The work was finished about 1530. The bishop's tomb (*c.* 1535) is in the north aisle in the next bay to that containing the entrance. The monument is interesting, and is still protected by the original iron grating. Most medieval monuments were thus defended, but the railings have been generally removed by the Goths of the nineteenth century.

The last work that remains to be noticed is the picturesque college of the vicars choral. The college was incorporated in 1396. The present buildings are connected with the south-east transept by a long covered way. They date from the latter part of the fifteenth century and have much charm and character.¹

¹ See Introduction.

LLANDAFF

IN 1107, Urban, a Welshman, as it is thought, was consecrated Bishop of Llandaff, after the see had been vacant for more than four years. He brought with him the relics of Saint Dubricius, who had founded the see in the seventh century. The church which Urban found was small, but had aisles and apparently an apse; the total length seems to have been 40 feet or but little more, the width 15 feet exclusive of the aisles, and the height 20 feet.

Urban began to rebuild this church in 1121, and as he lived till 1133 it is possible that he was able to finish the work. Just enough of his building remains to excite speculation, and not enough to enable us to come to any certain conclusion as to its exact plan. The east wall of the present presbytery containing a large and enriched arch is his work, and from it there were walls to north and south running westwards. Parts of these side walls remain, for though they have been pierced by arches at a later time, both retain fragments of Norman work. In the south wall there are mutilated Norman windows, and doubtless there were the like in the north wall. We know, therefore, that this bay of the Norman church had not aisles, for these windows are not sufficiently high to have been in a clerestory. Probably the present presbytery formed the original choir, and the arch in the east wall was the entrance to a small square presbytery. The church was dedicated to the honour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.



LLANDAFF FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

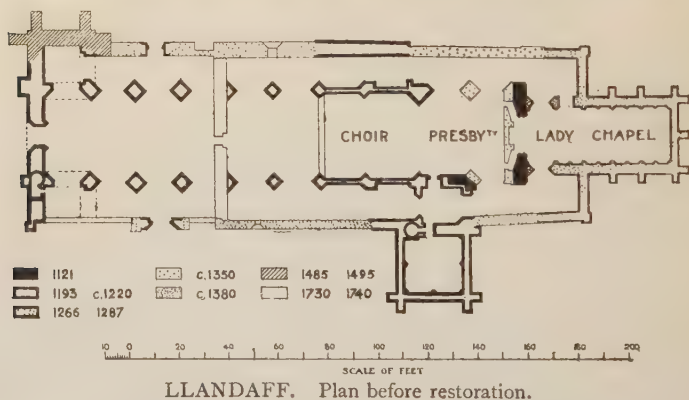
It has been assumed that Urban's church, serving a small and poor community, had no aisles ; but this is by no means certain. There seems to have been no limit to the ambitions of builders in those days, no matter how poor or how small the community. But it is useless to speculate further. It remains only to notice that the present north and south doors are of Late Norman character, say between 1160 and 1180. They must therefore be the work of Bishop Nicholas (about 1150-1183), and it is probable that they form part of what we may call Urban's church as completed by his successors.

The great period at Llandaff was the early part of the thirteenth century, probably the episcopate of Henry (1193-1218). He laid down a scheme which included, though he probably did not live to see it executed, the almost complete rebuilding of the church. His work, though much altered in its architectural features, has remained till this day but little changed in plan. The work of that time included the main arcade and clere-story of the nave and choir, the west wall, and probably two west towers. Moreover, if it be granted that the Norman church had no aisles, the walls of the present aisles must date from this period, and the north and south doorways must have been brought from their former position and incorporated in the new work.

And now having, as in duty bound, stated the historical problem, we may leave it undiscussed and turn to the enjoyment of the result. The outside has been so much altered that it is impossible to judge it as a medieval work of art. But the interior is very refined in its details. The main arcade is treated in an interesting and, for this early period, an unusual manner : some of the orders of the arches are continued down to the base of the pier uninterrupted, while others are stopped on capitals or on small corbels. The carved foliage of the capitals, of a type sometimes found elsewhere in

the west, is remarkably delicate and beautiful. There is no triforium. The clerestory is lighted by a single lancet in each bay, with a narrow blind arch on either side.

Soon after the completion of the church a chapter-house was added on the south side of the presbytery. It seems that it was originally intended to make the upper storey octagonal, and squinch arches were thrown across the angles accordingly. But the upper part was after all built square. The squinches were, however, considered by the 'restorers' of the cathedral to justify them in taking down the square and building the octagon.



The most finished work of art at Llandaff is the Lady chapel, built, it is believed, by William de Breuse or Brews (the name is spelt in half a dozen ways), bishop from 1266 till 1287. It is ceiled with good plain groining, and is lighted by very high two-light windows filled with excellent geometrical tracery. The east window is modern. The founder's tomb is to be seen on the north side near the altar.

The work included the lengthening of the aisles so as to overlap two bays of the Lady chapel, thus providing access to the Lady chapel and also allowing space for a chapel

at the end of each aisle. The northern of these chapels is called the Matthew chapel, because it contains two monuments to members of that family. Here also are the old font displaced by a new one, and a reredos of the fourteenth century brought presumably from the presbytery.

About the middle of the fourteenth century important alterations were made in the presbytery. Long before this, no doubt, the height had been increased from the low Norman elevation to the same height as the nave walls. But the presbytery was still flanked by solid walls pierced by Norman windows which had originally lighted the presbytery, but now looked into the aisle, or had perhaps been blocked. These side walls were now pierced by arches. This was done in the way that was usual and natural at the time. Chases, or slits, were cut in the walls at the places where the columns were to come; the columns were then built in these chases; then a little more of the wall was cut away just above the column, so that the arches could be begun; more wall was cut away, and more arch built; and so on till the arches were complete; then the wall under the arches could be removed, and the work was finished. The advantage of this method was that the work could be stopped at any point without danger and without leaving any serious eyesore or any great amount of litter. Thus the services would not be interrupted nor the building account overdrawn. In the present case, after a pause,—probably not the first,—the work was not proceeded with, and remains unfinished till this day, with the fourteenth-century arches and the Norman windows mixed up in a way that is puzzling until one realizes how it all came about. At this time the north wall of the presbytery aisle was rebuilt.

In the latter part of the fourteenth century new windows of no very high quality were put in the aisles. They have reticulated tracery and ogee heads.

At the west end of the church there are two towers. It appears that these were first built in the thirteenth century. The northern of the two was rebuilt by Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke and afterwards Duke of Bedford, son of Owen Tudor. It is called Jasper's Tower after him. Jasper was present at the first battle of St. Albans in 1455, when he was probably about twenty-four, and from that day he may be said to have never removed his armour till after Bosworth, in 1485. It must be, therefore, between 1485 and his death in 1495 that he built the tower. The work was very much damaged by severe storms in 1722, which quite destroyed the south-west tower. Jasper's Tower was repaired, but its companion remained in ruins till 1858, when it was rebuilt with the addition of a lofty spire. The northern tower has been crowned with an elaborate parapet like that which Earl Jasper's is said to have had before the storms.

For two hundred years after the Reformation the cathedral was in a miserable condition and was constantly going from bad to worse. It was frightfully desecrated during the Puritan rule; and though things improved after the Restoration, choral service was given up in 1692. A storm of 1705 (or perhaps the famous one of 1703) did great damage, and the ruin was completed by that of 1722. Half the building was roofless, and remained so for over a century. Between 1730 and 1740, however, an attempt was made to remedy this state of things, and Wood of Bath, an architect of ability and of some fame, was consulted. He transformed the choir and presbytery into what is usually called an Italian Temple; in other words, he repaired these parts and modelled them in the style of his day. The building was probably not without elegance, but it was, of course, impossible to preserve it when the restoration of the cathedral was begun in 1857.

SAINT DAVIDS

IT is said that the British church of Saint Andrew, the cathedral church of the diocese of Saint Davids, continued in use until the present building took its place towards the end of the Norman period. The first Norman bishop, Bernard, was consecrated in 1115, and in 1131 he changed the dedication from Saint Andrew to Saint David, who had been canonized in 1120. The adoption of a local saint in place of one of the Apostles by a Norman bishop was a remarkable, though no doubt a politic step. Were we not distinctly told that Bishop Bernard left the church as he found it, it would be not improbable that the change was made on the occasion of a reconsecration after a partial rebuilding. For the rest, Bernard turned out the Welsh clergy and established canons in their place, quarrelled with his brother of Llandaff about the boundary of his diocese, and defied the Archbishop of Canterbury till his death in 1147.

It was the third Norman bishop, Peter de Leia (1176-1198), who in 1180 began the present building. The canons wished that Archdeacon Gerald de Barry, better known as Giraldus Cambrensis, nephew of David Fitzgerald, the second Norman bishop, should succeed his uncle; and Giraldus very much wished it too. He would, no doubt, have made a far better bishop than de Leia; he could hardly have made a worse one,—according to Giraldus. Bishop de Leia very soon ceased to reside in his diocese, so that he probably had little personal influence on the design or execution of the new building.

The new cathedral was cruciform, with a square-ended presbytery, a central tower, and a square chapel projecting from the east side of each transept. The choir was under the tower and was separated from the nave by a screen wall which seems to form a part of the present screen. The transepts were cut off from the aisles of the nave by massive walls pierced by comparatively narrow doorways. There were also rather thick screen walls under the north and south arches of the tower ; of these the northern wall remains, and in a recess on its north side contains the tomb of Saint Caradoc, who had died in 1124. The building work seems to have gone on apace ; for there is, when allowance is made for some important alterations at a later time, a singular uniformity about the whole.

It will be seen that the plan follows fairly closely the type generally adopted by the secular canons. But in other respects the design is remarkable. The style is completely Transitional in character, but has rather more of the Norman element and rather less of the Gothic than we should expect in a building begun so late as 1180. The lower stage of the nave is fairly normal, but the upper part has a very curious combination of the triforium and clerestory which foreshadows the course of English architecture a hundred years later. Here as elsewhere in the church it is clear that the builders had some thought of vaulting the building. But one cannot help thinking that their notions were rather hazy and that they were wise in abandoning the idea.

It is probable that the general design of the presbytery resembled that of the nave. But in 1220, when the work had probably not been finished twenty years, the central tower fell, ruining the presbytery and parts of both transepts. It would appear that in rebuilding the presbytery a great deal of the old material was



SAINT DAVIDS FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

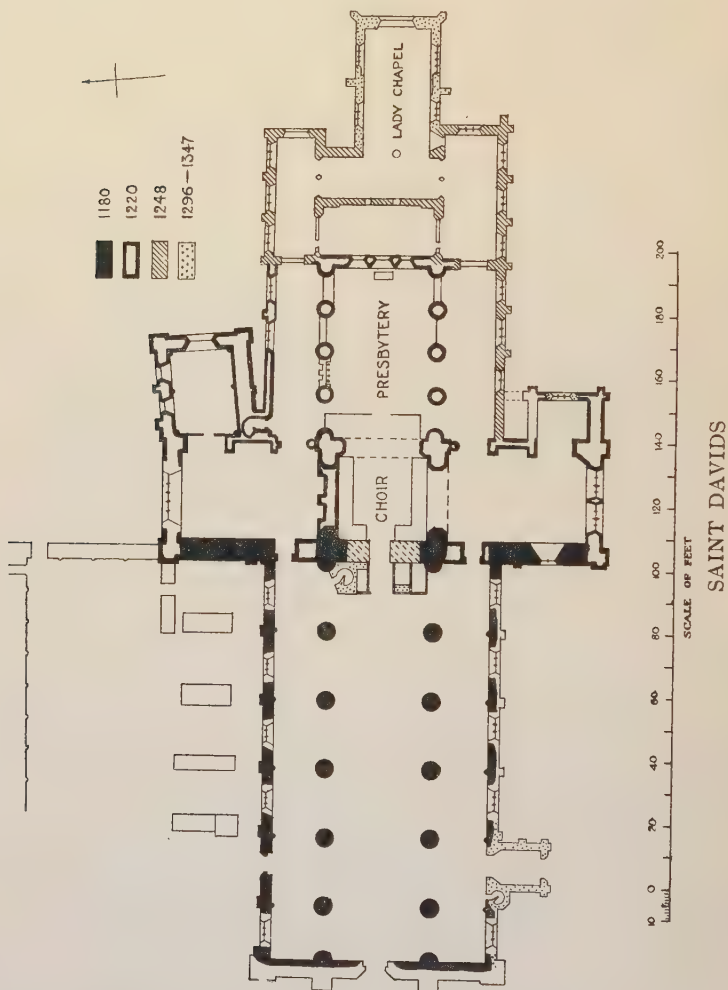
re-used. The main arches were made pointed instead of round, but the ornaments are for the most part quite Norman. No attempt was made to reproduce the triforium, however, and the clerestory was lighted by plain long lancets characteristic of the age. The east wall was rebuilt, it is thought, on the old foundations. It has three large lancets, above which are four small lancets; not a very happy composition. The upper windows are a reconstruction by Sir Gilbert Scott with some old material that he found, partly *in situ*, and they are believed to reproduce faithfully the old design. They take the place of a window of Perpendicular character put in when the present roof was constructed. The Early English roof was high pitched. The presbytery was flanked by turrets which have been mutilated. The external effect has suffered a good deal from the heightening of the walls and the depressing of the roof.

The ends and east sides of the transepts as rebuilt show a more advanced style, and they have some very interesting and beautiful detail. Against the north transept there was built a large chapel dedicated in honour of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, whose relics had at this time (1220) just been translated from their first resting-place in the crypt to the shrine in the choir. The chapel has a very pretty double piscina. In 1329, about a hundred years after its erection, the chapel was vaulted and two upper stories were added, the lower to serve as a chapter-house and the upper as a treasury.

The shrine of Saint David, the base of which remains between two pillars on the north side of the presbytery, was probably made about 1250; but the work has been much altered and cannot be exactly dated.

We now turn to the curious eastward extension of the church. It is generally thought that the continuation of the presbytery aisles and the building of the

cross aisle joining them—the whole forming a procession path at the back of the high altar—were begun in 1248.



The unusual feature about this work is that in order to avoid blocking the east window, which had been

not long finished, an open space was left between the east wall of the presbytery and the new cross aisle. It has been suggested that a Lady chapel formed part of this scheme, for shortly before Bishop Anselm, called Le Gras (1231-47), had founded a daily mass in honour of the Blessed Virgin. But in 1248 the whole church was much damaged by an earthquake, and the new work may have been interrupted by the men being called off to repair other parts of the building. However that may be, the work as we see it to-day is much later. The present Lady chapel was built by Bishop David Martyn (1296-1328). The sedilia and the two monuments, one on either side of the chapel, are the work of Martyn's successor, Henry Gower. That on the south is thought to be the tomb of Martyn, and the other that of his predecessor, Bek.

Thomas Bek (1280-93) was the elder brother of Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham, and had some of his lordly characteristics. He was consecrated at Lincoln, and on the same day the remains of Saint Hugh were translated to the shrine in the new choir in the presence of the King and many prelates and nobles. The whole cost of this great ceremonial and of the festivities was borne by Bishop Thomas. He made for his see the last claim to independence of Canterbury, but Archbishop Peckham threatened him with excommunication, and he had to give in. He completed the imperfect capitular body, which had hitherto consisted only of a bishop and dean in one person and a precentor, by the addition of a chancellor and treasurer, a sub-dean and a sub-chanter. The precentorship had been established in 1224, and the office seems to have practically corresponded to that of dean until 1840, when the precentor took the title of dean under Act of Parliament.

Martyn's successor, Henry Gower (1328-47), was one of the great builders of Saint Davids, and he wrought

great changes in all this eastern part of the building, as indeed throughout the whole church. He raised the walls of the north chapel aisle (these extensions of the original aisles are here called the 'chapel aisles'), rebuilt and slightly lengthened the south chapel aisle, divided each into three bays instead of five as formerly, and made preparations for vaulting them with stone, the springers for which he actually built. He did something, as we have seen, towards the adornment of the Lady chapel.

Bishop Gower also made great alterations in the nave aisles. He raised the walls, putting in new windows and making preparations for stone vaulting. The south aisle he must have almost rebuilt, but parts of the inner face of the wall is Norman. His windows were replaced in the fifteenth century by others with Perpendicular tracery, but these being blown in by a storm in 1849 were restored to Decorated. Bishop Gower also added the south porch.

But Gower's most interesting work is the choir screen and rood loft. Towards the nave it shows an irregular though picturesque front. In the centre is the archway to a vaulted passage leading to the choir. To the south of this there are two places for tombs, the southern one, with open arches to the south and west being prepared for the grave of Gower himself. The part to the north of the choir door shows three niches towards the west with a blank wall below, against which there was an altar. This part contains another recess for a tomb, and a staircase. At the top the screen is finished by a groined coving, but the work which formerly existed above this has been removed.

There is a second screen, with light wood tracery like the screen of an ordinary parish church, between the choir and presbytery. A screen in this position is thought to have been rare at all times, and this

example appears to be almost the only one remaining. It is later than Gower's time, and may be the gift of Bishop Houghton (1362-89). The stalls are the work of Bishop Tully (1460-81), or rather probably the work of his time, for he never was in possession of the temporalities. The throne is said to be by Bishop Morgan (1496-1505).

It seems doubtful if the central tower was rebuilt after the fall before Gower's time; probably not. His excellent work is spoilt by the additional stage built by Bishop Vaughan (1509-22). Gower's tower, supported by high-pitched roofs and by the turrets at the angles of the presbytery, must have been admirable.

Vaughan, however, did good work elsewhere. For one thing, he vaulted the open space left between the presbytery and the vestibule of the Lady chapel. An enclosed neglected place like this naturally became noisome, and in Vaughan's time it is described as "*vilissimus sive sordidissimus locus in totâ ecclesiâ.*" He converted the place into a chapel of the Holy Trinity and was himself buried there. He also vaulted the Lady chapel. He is reputed to have built the chapel of Saint Justinian, the most perfect of a number of little chapels built along the seacoast but belonging to the cathedral.

Saint David's is remarkable for the grand group of ruined buildings which are connected with the cathedral. The bishop's palace was built by the great Gower. The college of Saint Mary, for a master and seven fellows and two choristers, was founded and built by Bishop Adam Houghton (1362-89), who also founded a school for the choristers. Of the college of the vicars choral founded by Bishop Bek (1280-93) little remains. This great group of buildings, of the finest architectural character, was surrounded by a wall which may be traced, and four towers, of which one remains.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the cathedral church itself was in a state almost as ruinous as the palace. During the Civil War the lead had been stripped from the roofs of the Lady chapel, the aisles of the presbytery, and apparently from the transepts. These parts, therefore, fell into decay, and after the Restoration the arches between the presbytery and its aisles were blocked up in order to make the presbytery serviceable. The west end has been twice rebuilt. The central tower would certainly have fallen if the two western piers had not been rebuilt by Sir Gilbert Scott.



BANGOR FROM THE SOUTH

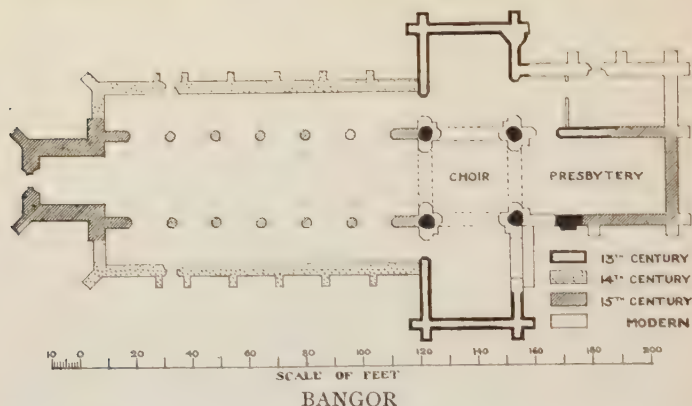
BANGOR

OF the ancient cathedral church of Bangor nothing is known save that it was destroyed by a Norman army in 1071. It is probably to the church which was built in its place that the earliest work now remaining belongs. This work consists of the foundations of an apse and slight fragments above-ground indicating a central tower and short transepts. We hear of this church in 1211 when a part of King John's forces sacked the city, dragged the bishop from the high altar, and held him to ransom at two hundred hawks.

The cathedral was destroyed during the wars of Edward I, probably in 1282. Anian (1267-1305) was then bishop, and he obtained considerable compensation from the King, with whom he was a favourite. Anian no doubt rebuilt the choir, giving it its present form. He also lengthened the transepts and threw out from them buildings extending eastward, of which little is known. His work seems to have been of fine quality, and the little that was left was taken as the key-note for the restoration in the last century. We have therefore a scholarly conjecture of Anian's design, but do not know how much of it is really based on fact and how much is guess-work. Anian probably did little or nothing towards building the nave and aisles. He compiled a missale or pontificale for the church, and on this is based the Use of Bangor. It is contained in an extremely fine illuminated manuscript of his time, still preserved in the chapter library.

The nave and aisles were probably finished about the middle of the fourteenth century, for the aisle windows seem to be of that date.

The church was again destroyed, so we are told, in 1404. In that year the followers of Owen Glendower set fire to it. How long it remained in ruin seems uncertain. It may have been re-roofed and made fit for use quite soon, for the actual rebuilding did not take place for another hundred years. The choir is



said to have been rebuilt by Bishop Deane (1496-1500), and the nave and transepts by Bishop Skevington or Pace (1509-33). The tower is also his, and bears his arms and the inscription: "Orate pro Thoma Pace Episcopo Bangor." Another inscription gives the date 1532. This little tower, well designed in all its parts, is perhaps the most pleasing part of the cathedral.

The building suffered badly during the Puritan misrule and again during the early years of the nineteenth century, so that there are now but few objects of interest left within its walls.



SAINT ASAPH FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

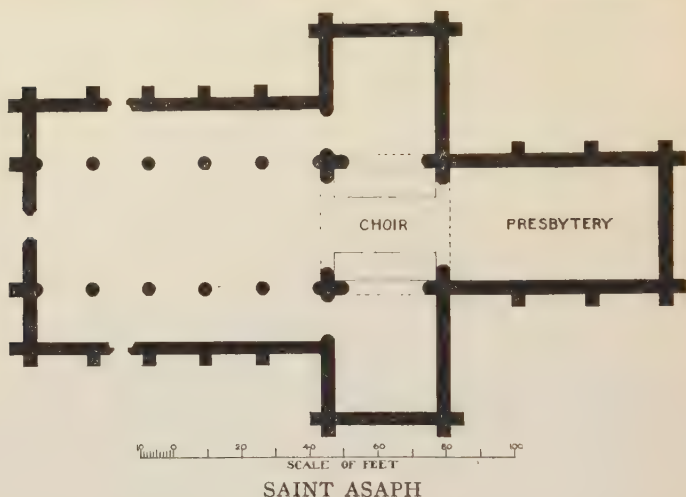
SAINT ASAPH

THE architectural history of the cathedral church of Saint Asaph does not begin till near the close of the thirteenth century, and there it may be said to end. Bishop Anian (1268-93), like his namesake of Bangor, with whom he was almost exactly contemporary, was in favour with Edward I and was in fact his confessor during the campaign in the Holy Land. But for some unknown reason he fell into disgrace at the time of the rebellion of Llewelyn and David, and was obliged to leave his see. He was allowed to return, however, in 1284, when the rebellion had been quelled, and he set about rebuilding the cathedral, which had been burned by the English.

Practically the whole of the present church is Bishop Anian's work. It is not likely that he finished the building, for he died nine years after his return, and he had difficulty in collecting money. But the whole seems to belong to one scheme, and probably the work was completed by his successor, Leoline of Bromfield (1293-1314), who also rearranged the offices and choral discipline on lines that seem to have proved permanent.

During Cromwell's time the church was used as a stable and the font as a horse trough. But things seem to have been put to rights soon after the Restoration by Bishop Isaac Barrow (1670-80) and his successors. The choir was to a great extent rebuilt about 1780, altered in 1822, and thoroughly restored in 1867.

Nevertheless, it appears that some old work survived these operations and even goes back to the time before the fire of 1282. The tower was probably finished late



in the fourteenth century. The parapet was destroyed by a storm in 1714, and the whole of the upper part, from where the character of the masonry changes, seems to have been carefully rebuilt with the old materials.

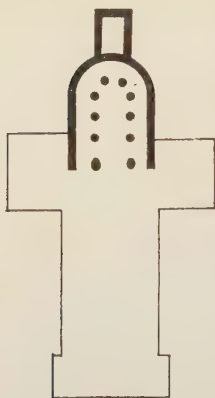
LICHFIELD

LICHFIELD is a little gem set in the midst of pleasant midland scenery. Built in the short space of a century and a quarter, it exhibits no strong contrasts of styles; on the contrary, it is singularly harmonious, and has all the grace and refinement of the middle period of English medieval art, with just enough variety to give it interest.

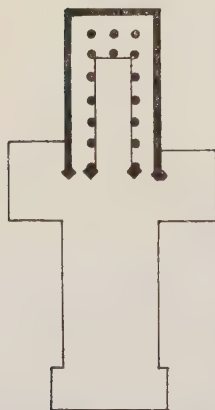
The building is one of the smallest of our cathedral churches, and the list of bishops is, it must be confessed, poor in names which occur in the page of national history. Nevertheless, the diocese is one of the most ancient and important. It dates from the middle of the seventh century, only fifty years after the death of Saint Augustine, and for many centuries it covered all the midlands—the fifty miles from Repton to Shrewsbury and the hundred from Halesowen to Preston.

The conversion of the Mercians to Christianity had begun during the lifetime of the fierce old pagan King Penda, whose son Peada had been baptized about 653. A few years later Penda fell in battle against the Christian king of the Northumbrians, who became forthwith overlord of Mercia. Peada succeeded his father as king. A bishop 'of Mercia and of the Middle Angles' was consecrated. The fourth bishop of the diocese was Ceadda or Chad, the greatest name in the history of Lichfield and its patron saint. Chad had been for a short time Bishop of the Northumbrians, and had

crossed the path of the storm-tossed Wilfrith. The two men present a singular contrast. Chad was remarkable



LICHFIELD. The Norman choir.

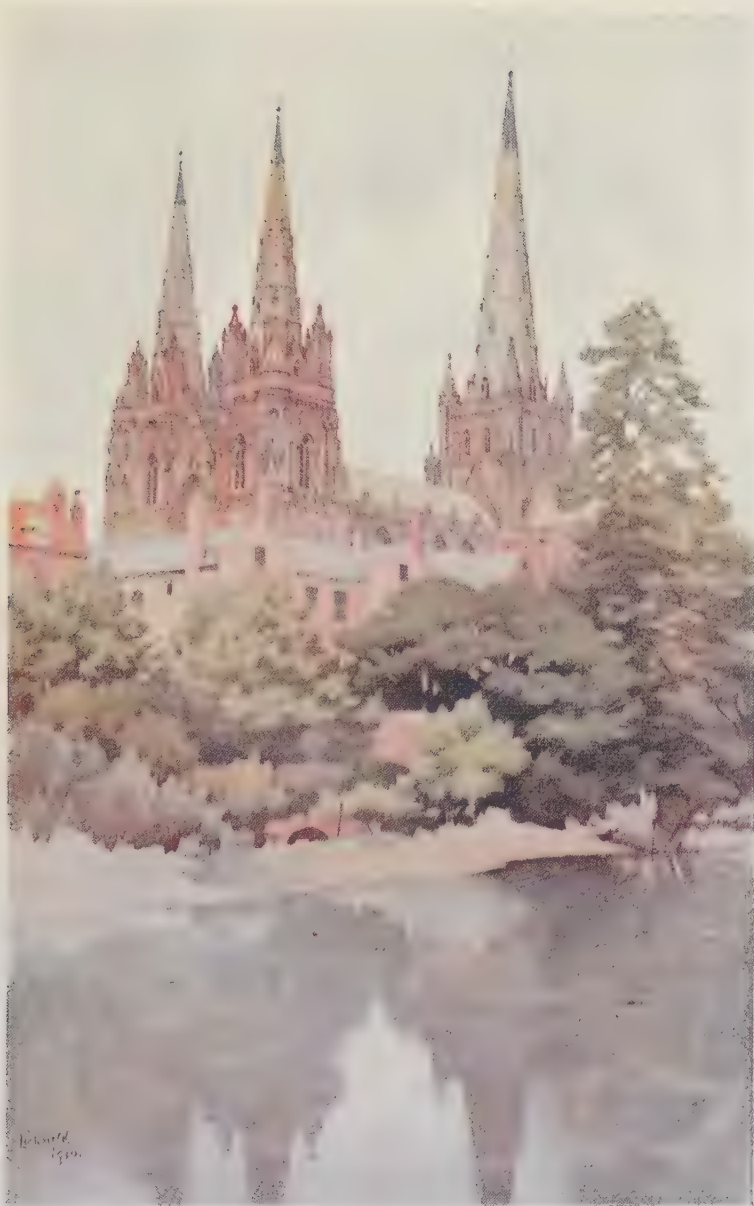


LICHFIELD. The thirteenth-century choir.

for his sweetness and gentleness and his total freedom from self-assertion. He lived a very peaceful life, entirely devoted to working his diocese. He fixed his see at Lichfield, where he lived with a few priests, though much of his time was spent in travelling. He was stricken with the plague, and died on the 2nd of March 672. Many legends, as of angel voices calling him, and the like, attest the love and reverence in which he was held.

In the eighth century Lichfield was made an archbishopric with six suffragan bishops, leaving only four to Canterbury. This arrangement, brought about through the influence of King Offa of Mercia, lasted for the lifetime of but one prelate. In the eleventh century the see was removed to Chester, and from thence to Coventry, when it was united with the monastery there. Hence it is that the bishops continued till lately the title of "Lichfield and Coventry." There was much disputing between the monks of Coventry and the canons of Lichfield as to the election of bishops till the matter was settled by an agreement to take it in turns to elect.

The earliest church at Lichfield of which there are any remains was probably built in the years immediately following the Norman Conquest. There remain below



LICHFIELD FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

the pavement of the present choir the foundations of an early choir, slightly narrower and ending with an apse, round which the aisle was continued. At a later time a long, square-ended building—probably a Lady chapel—was added eastwards.

The rebuilding of the church began in the year 1200 with the eastern arm of the cross. The new building was a little wider and longer than the Norman building. Thus considerable progress could be made with the new walls without breaking into the existing choir. Even when this became necessary, it is probable that the work was taken down only so far westwards as the chord of the apse, and that the new presbytery was finished before the old choir was disturbed. This could then be rebuilt without much inconvenience. This rebuilding included the central tower and the sacristy on the south side of the choir. It seems not improbable that there was a slight pause between the building of the four eastern bays and the three western bays of the new eastern arm, and that the latter were in consequence of a more perfect architecture than the former, for they were allowed to remain when at a later time the eastern part was rebuilt. The presbytery as thus rebuilt was square ended instead of apsidal, the main arcade was continued across the end and there was a double aisle beyond.

The rebuilding of the church proceeded rapidly. The south transept is considered to have been done about 1220, the north transept and chapter-house about 1240, the nave 1250, the west end 1275.

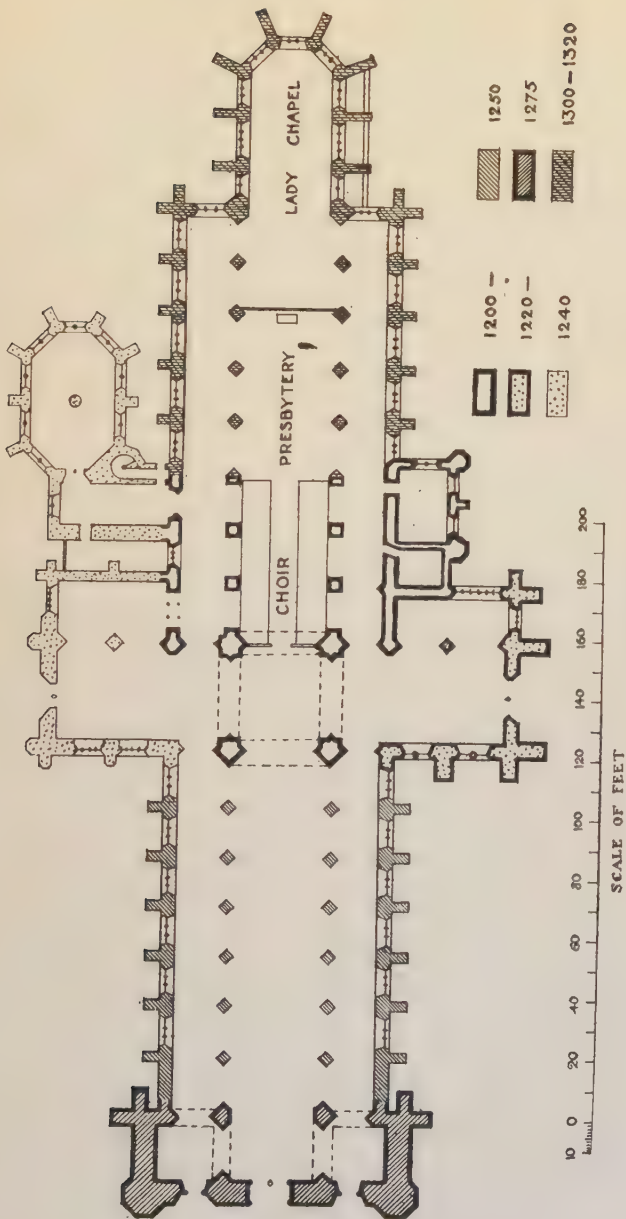
The nave is a rich and very charming example of the period when English architecture was just reaching its culmination. Its resemblance to Westminster Abbey has been remarked upon, and there is a certain degree of similarity between some of the details—as, especially, in the curious triangular windows of the clerestory.

But in proportion and in the feeling which pervades them they are almost opposites.

The west end makes up in grace and unity what it lacks in size and force. Long rows of canopied niches for statuary cross it from end to end and are carried round the staircase turrets at the angles and along the north and south sides of the towers. This wealth of sculpture on the west end is a characteristic of all the most notable churches of the canons—York, Lincoln, Salisbury, Wells, Exeter.

The last great work at the cathedral—the rebuilding of the presbytery and the addition of the Lady chapel—was due to Walter Langton, the greatest of the bishops since Chad. He had begun life as a poor man, but became the trusted servant of Edward I, through whose influence he received a canonry of Lichfield and other preferments. He became Treasurer of England in 1295 and Bishop of Lichfield two years afterwards. He was persecuted by the worthless Prince of Wales, against whose follies and extravagance he had protested; but the King stood by him till his own death, and finally showed his confidence in him by naming him executor of his will. He accompanied the King's body from Burgh-upon-Sands to Westminster, but was apprehended on his approach to London and was imprisoned. But he remained loyal and refused to join the barons against Edward II, and was accordingly excommunicated by Archbishop Winchelsea. Notwithstanding his protracted troubles, Langton was able to begin the rebuilding of the presbytery and to found the Lady chapel, for the completion of which works he bequeathed money on his death in 1321.

The first of Langton's works was the Lady chapel with its polygonal apse which he projected from the east wall of the presbytery, begun about 1300. A few years later the presbytery, which had been built only



LICHFIELD

a little more than a hundred years, was taken down and rebuilt. The work includes only the four eastern bays of this arm of the cross ; the three western bays form the choir. Of these three western bays the upper part was reconstructed, so that the whole of the rather ugly clerestory is of this date though the window tracery is later. The church was also extended one bay eastwards.

Many other works did Bishop Langton in his lifetime, notably a wide fosse and strong wall all round the cathedral precinct.

The three sieges which these defences stood during the Civil War are perhaps the best-known chapter in the history of Lichfield. The town itself was undefended, and upon the approach of Lord Brooke, a Roundhead leader, in 1642-43 was obliged to yield. But the Close was put into a state of defence by the Earl of Chesterfield. The houses were pierced with loop-holes, musketeers manned the walls of the cathedral, and 'drakes' or long guns were mounted. The siege began on 2nd March, and affairs at first looked encouraging for the Royalists. Lord Brooke, who had prayed that God would show some special token of His approbation, was on the 3rd (St. Chad's Day) shot dead by a man stationed on the steeple of the cathedral. But it is impossible to imagine a building less able to stand a bombardment even of seventeenth-century artillery than a Gothic cathedral. On the 4th of March the central spire fell. The place was surrendered the next day, more, it is said, from want of provisions and military stores than from damage done by the fire of besiegers. The Puritan fanaticism was forthwith let loose upon the church ; the usual revolting scenes followed, and much beautiful work was destroyed.

A month later the Parliamentary party had themselves to defend the Close against the Royalists. Prince

Rupert arrived from Oxford, and after a siege of ten days took the place. Three years later the Close was still held for the King, but his Majesty's affairs were then in such a parlous state that further resistance seemed useless, and the governor surrendered.

After the Restoration the desecrated building was zealously repaired and furnished by good Bishop Hacket (1661-70). Unfortunately, not a little of his excellent work has since been destroyed to make way for sham Gothic.

LINCOLN

THE story of Lincoln begins at the village of Stow some ten miles away to the north of the city. Here was fixed the seat of the Bishop of Lindsey, a district of Lincolnshire which was formed into a distinct diocese in 678. Here reigned a line of bishops for near two hundred years. About 870 the place was sacked and burned by the Danes. This was the period of the Northmen's most ferocious invasions, and this the year which saw the destruction of Peterborough and Crowland, Thorney and Ramsey, Soham and Ely. It has been thought that it is the effects of the Danish fires that are still to be seen in the reddened and broken masonry of Stow. For near a century the see appears to have been unfilled, and for that time the church was no doubt deserted and in ruins, like Ely, Dunwich, and Peterborough. It was refounded about 953, a few years before the other three monasteries. Within a few years the bishop removed to the Oxfordshire Dorchester, at the other end of the vast diocese, probably as less exposed to the incursions of the Danes; and when the bishops' seat was once more, soon after the Conquest, brought back to Lincolnshire, it was fixed not at Stow but at Lincoln.

Remigius, a Benedictine monk of Fécamp, was, it is thought, a relative of the Conqueror, and had fought by his side at Hastings. He was rewarded with the bishopric of Dorchester in the following year. The Pope punished his simony with deposition, but



LINCOLN FROM THE NORTH-EAST

ultimately forgave him. Remigius removed to Lincoln about 1075, and immediately began the building of his cathedral church under the shadow and protection of the Norman castle then in course of erection on the top of the hill. By 1092 he had carried the building so far towards completion as to allow of its consecration. He was permitted to see but not to enter the promised land. He died four days before the date which he had fixed for the ceremony.

Remigius built his church "after the manner of the church of Rouen, which he had set before him as his pattern in all things." The model has long since disappeared, but some of the work of Remigius or of his immediate successor remains, and is of very great interest. Some part of the foundations of the east end remains below the present floor; it shows a very short presbytery with an apsidal end.

The greater part of the west end remains. It contains three lofty arched recesses: of these the northern and southern remain intact; over the central one a pointed arch has been substituted for the original round arch. These three recesses were originally surmounted by gables, and there are return gables facing north and south still remaining. At the extremities of the Norman part of the front are alcoves, and similar alcoves face north and south. Above the round arches of these alcoves a band of sculpture has been introduced with telling effect, contrasting as it does with the extreme severity of the rest of the original work. It will be seen at once that in its general arrangement this remarkable west front had a strong resemblance to that of Peterborough; it may even have suggested the latter. The rather ornate Norman doorways in the three great recesses are, it should be noted, later than the original front, and are ascribed to Bishop Alexander (1123-48), as is also the row of intersecting arches over the side

recesses. Alexander was one of a family of bishops, being nephew of Roger of Salisbury and brother of Nigel of Ely. Like them, he was a bishop in little more than name, and with them was involved in the strife of Stephen's reign : 'a man of vast pomp and of great boldness and audacity, neglecting the pure and simple way of life belonging to the Christian religion, he gave himself up to military affairs and secular pomp, showing, whenever he appeared at Court, so vast a band of followers that all men marvelled.' As such habits were expensive, 'he was in the habit of plucking most eagerly the goods of other people.' Yet he is said to have been a wise man and liberal. We are told that he vaulted the church with stone after the wooden roofs had been destroyed by fire, and he greatly adorned the whole building.

Lincoln was, it must be confessed, somewhat unfortunate in its bishops at this time. Alexander was followed by 'a man of great simplicity and humility,' who pledged the ornaments of the church to one Aaron a Jew, in order to raise money to build himself a palace, and alienated episcopal estate to provide his nieces with marriage portions. After his death the see was vacant for nearly seventeen years, and then Geoffrey Plantagenet, a natural son of Henry II, was appointed while still in his twenty-first year. He was only in deacon's orders, and was never consecrated, but he received the temporalities, and before he was thirty he became Archbishop of York. His successor held the see for but a year, and then there was another vacancy of two years. This brings us to 1185, in which year there occurred a great earthquake, 'such as there had not been in England since the beginning of the world.' The minster was split from top to bottom. In the following year the King filled the vacant see, and Lincoln received its most famous and one of its greatest bishops.

Saint Hugh of Lincoln was a Carthusian monk whom Henry II had brought to England to rule a house of that order which he had founded at Witham in Somersetshire. Hugh, who was of knightly family, was born at Avalon, after which place he is sometimes called, about the year 1135. Avalon is near to the Grande Chartreuse, and Hugh left a priory of canons regular which he had joined at an early age with his father, to become a Carthusian monk in that famous monastery, the premier house of the Order, and now at the height of its glory. Henry II was at this time introducing the Order into England, being engaged in the foundation of his house at Witham. Experiencing some difficulty, and hearing of the fame of Hugh, who had at the age of thirty-five risen to the highest place after that of prior at Chartreuse, Henry prevailed upon him to come to England and assume the headship at Witham. After filling this office with great success for about ten years, he was appointed to the see of Lincoln. It was with difficulty that Hugh could be persuaded to accept the post. The Carthusian life is peculiarly favourable to religious exercises, to study, and to meditation. It is more secluded than that which is possible under any other Order, because there is none of the common life and none of the almost inevitable chatter and gossip of the cloister. Instead of these, each monk enjoys the solitude of his own house and garden. This life, which he had chosen for himself at an early age, Hugh was required to exchange for a life of affairs, of association with other men, of activity, and of some necessary state. He was consecrated in 1186.

Hugh found the minster almost in a state of ruin, and presently resolved to rebuild it from the foundations. He began the work in 1192, and died eight years later. During this period he pushed on the work rapidly, exciting the enthusiasm of others both by

precept and example. The building was therefore far advanced at the time of his death, but very considerable difference of opinion exists as to the original design.

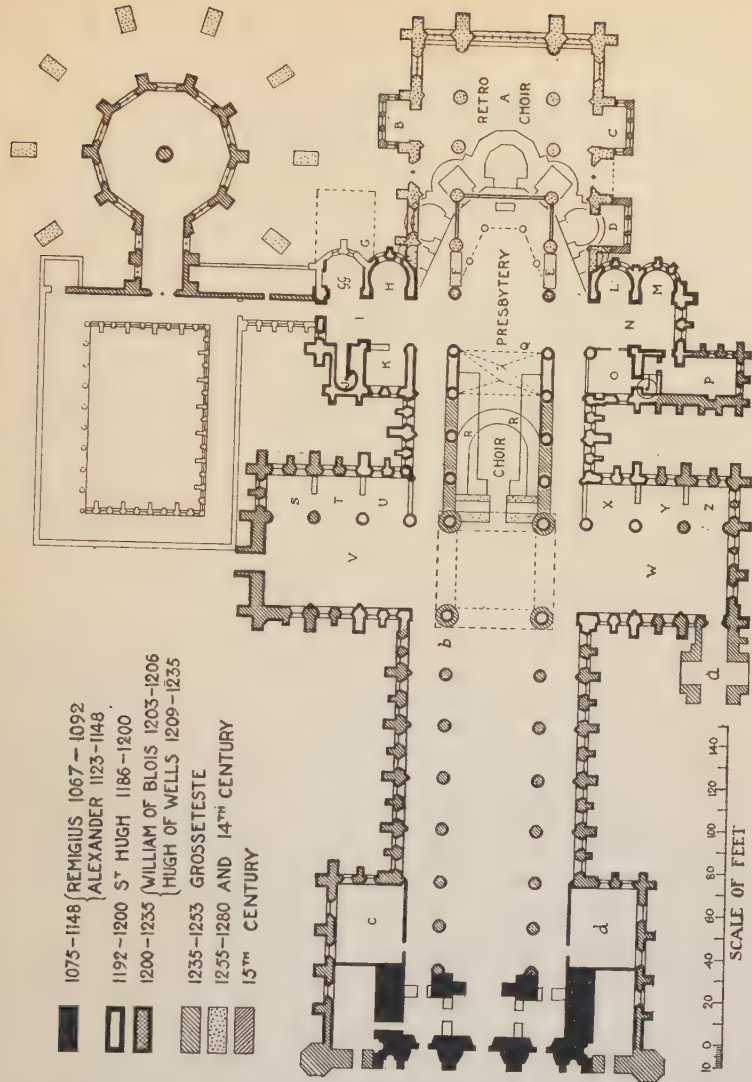
The east end as Hugh left it was destroyed a few years after his death in order that it might be rebuilt on a grander scale. Fragments of foundations have, however, been exposed, and a conjectural restoration based upon them is indicated by incised lines on the present pavement. A different interpretation is given in the accompanying plan.¹ Hugh built the east transept and began the great transept and central tower. He built the vaults of the choir aisles, but he did not vault the central part of the choir. It has been recently contended that he did not intend to vault it, and that the whole of the triforium and clerestory have been entirely remodelled since his time. The well-known double wall-arcades have been thought to be characteristic of his work, while some hold that the outer arcade is an afterthought for the purpose of thickening the wall. It is agreed that the south-east transept has been altered, the last bay having been originally only one storey high, somewhat in the manner of the north-east transept. What we may call Saint Hugh's work, whether or not it is as he left it,—namely, the choir, the eastern transept, and perhaps the beginning of the great transept,—is full of interest. It is the interest of promise rather than of accomplishment. It has been pointed out that the design was largely influenced by the architecture of Southern England, and by Canterbury in particular; perhaps we should say, rather, by France. It is rich, and yet simple; full of resource and energy, and yet quiet and dignified.

Opening out of the north transept there is a small chamber, called the Dean's Chapel, formerly divided into three storeys. The upper of these is generally

¹ Mr. Francis Bond's.

LINCOLN. A angel choir. B chapel of Bishop Fleming. C of Bishop Russell. D tomb of Catherine Swineford. E Easter sepulchre. F building of 1200 destroyed in 1772; use not known. G Gapse built in place of G. H chapel called St Hugh's. I N.E. transept. J turret stair. K 'Dean's chapel.' L chapel of St Paul. M of St Peter. N s.e. transept. O, P vestries. Q plan of vaulting. R apse of Remigius's church. S chapel of St Nicholas. T of St Denis. U of St James. V N.W. transept. W s.w. transept. X chapel of St Anne, afterwards of St Edward. Y of St John the Evangelist. Z of St Thomas. a Galilee porch. b tomb of Remigius. c morning chapel. d consistory court.

1075-1148 { REMIGIUS 1067-1092
ALEXANDER 1123-1148
1192-1200 ST HUGH 1186-1200
1200-1235 { WILLIAM OF BLOIS 1203-1206
HUGH OF WELLS 1209-1235
1235-1253 GROSSETESTE
1255-1280 AND 14TH CENTURY
15TH CENTURY



called a pharmacy or dispensary, for the walls contain a number of recesses with stone shelves and curious triangular heads which, it has been supposed, were intended for the storage of herbs and drugs. Its real use is not certainly known, but it was doubtless a place in which to keep the ordinary gear belonging to the church. The windows of the lower room retain their original shutters. The corresponding position on the south side of the church is occupied by a vestry containing a fourteenth-century stone wash-hand trough and a fireplace. Farther south is the sacristy, of somewhat later date, with a chamber over it.

Bishop Hugh died in London in the year 1200. His body was carried to Lincoln for burial, and was met by King John, who was then holding a council in the city, accompanied by the Court. Accounts of his life have come down to us. They illustrate a character combining in a remarkable degree strength of will with sweetness of disposition, judgement with enthusiasm, cheerfulness with asceticism, wit with gentleness, and tact with great moral courage. He was buried by his own special directions, where his tomb would not be an obstruction, near the altar of his patron, Saint John Baptist. The position of this altar is not known; it was probably in one of the radiating chapels of the great apse. Bishop Hugh was canonized in 1220.

It is always a fascinating task to attempt to trace a connexion between a man's known personal character and the artistic character of his work. But it is almost invariably a futile quest, and in the case of medieval architecture it is particularly so. The personal character that we have is that of Saint Hugh, the official head of the diocese and the mover and inspirer of the work, but not the designer. That was one Geoffrey de Noiers, whose name, and whose name only, we know as master of the works.

For the next half-century the rebuilding of the cathedral proceeded steadily, if not rapidly. The same general design is continued, but there are variations in many of the details. In the end of each transept there is a remarkable round window: that in the north transept contains admirable plate tracery, and is probably contemporary with the building; but the south window is of the fourteenth century, and is filled with flowing tracery characteristic of that period. This window probably takes the place of an earlier one. From the thirteenth century the north window has been called the 'Dean's Eye,' and the south window the 'Bishop's Eye,' for the latter looked towards the south, the quarter of the Holy Spirit, as though inviting His influence, while the former looked to the north, the region of Lucifer, in order to watch against his advances.

The work of rebuilding progressed westwards, so that the nave is rather later than the transepts. It is attributed to the time of Bishop Hugh of Wells (1209-35). It is impressive by reason of a certain spaciousness which it derives partly from its width and partly from the wide spacing of the columns. It is particularly happy in its light and shade.

Lincoln affords many interesting variations on the earlier types of vaulting. That of the choir is the most remarkable, for it is unsymmetrical, the diagonal rib being treated in a curious way which defies brief description but is indicated on the plan in one bay. There are also several varieties of 'sexpartite' vaulting, in which each bay is divided into six cells instead of the more usual number, four. This is done by the addition of a rib which has some of the character of a diagonal rib but crosses the bay at right angles. This system affects the outside of the building, because it requires the addition of a small intermediate buttress between each pair of ordinary buttresses. The æsthetic

effect is in many cases very good, as in the transept ; in others, as in an aisle, where the half of the bay next to the wall is treated as a sexpartite vault and the half next to the nave as a quadripartite vault, the result is not quite so satisfactory.

The west front still remained as Remigius had left it with slight additions of later Norman work. But now that the whole church had been rebuilt on a grander scale,—making it half as long again as formerly and much more lofty,—now that it was enriched with polished shaft and growing leaf, the old west end must have been entirely out of character and ludicrously out of proportion. It received very remarkable treatment at the hands of the builders of the thirteenth century. It was not only raised, but was extended north and south, the new work taking a rectangular form, without reference either to the old Norman towers or to the new nave and aisles. The face of this great screen-wall was covered with innumerable niches in rows which ignore the plain old Norman front. The result is not very fortunate. But the builders evinced a respect for the work of their predecessors which is not commonly found in the Middle Ages. They did not touch the work of Remigius. This forms a comparatively small part of the present front, and it could have been refaced at small cost, so that it can scarcely have been considerations of economy which caused the builder to hold his hand. The work was probably done under Robert Grostête, bishop from 1235 till 1253. The diagonal diaper, rather like trellis-work, which covers a good deal of the surface, is considered to be one added in the fifteenth century.

Grostête, or Grosseteste, was in many ways the very opposite of his predecessor Hugh, the gentle, aristocratic French monk. Grosseteste was of humble birth ; a poor Oxford scholar and a secular priest ; a profound thinker

and a friend of Roger Bacon; a ruthless reformer, a resistless fighter. There was plenty of work for a reformer in the diocese of Lincoln, and Grosseteste stuck at nothing and stayed for none. During the very first year of his episcopacy he made a visitation of religious houses and removed from their offices seven abbots and four priors. He fought his own dean and chapter, he fought the King and his nobles, he fought the papal legates, and he fought the Pope. He put down the profane 'Feast of Fools' held in the cathedral at the Feast of the Circumcision, he refused to induct as priests boys and foreigners who were ignorant of the English language, and he maintained his right to rule his diocese. When excommunicated for refusing to appoint to a canonry a foreign nominee of the Pope's he quietly ignored the sentence and continued his work.

Matthew Paris the historian and a contemporary of Bishop Grosseteste tells that when one of the canons was inveighing against him from the pulpit he used the words: "If we were to be silent the very stones would cry out for us." While the words were still on his tongue the central tower fell. This was in 1237 or 1239. The story is rather too good to be true, but it serves to fix approximately the beginning of the present tower. When finished the tower was capped with a lead-covered wooden spire. The present upper stage is of the fourteenth century.

In 1255 the dean and chapter of Lincoln petitioned the King for leave to take down a part of the city wall which ran hard by the east end of their church in order that they might enlarge their presbytery, and the most famous part of the minster was then begun. The work seems to have been pushed on fairly quickly at first, for the translation of the relics of Saint Hugh took place in 1280. There seems, however, to have been some difficulty in collecting funds later on,

for the work was not actually finished till about 1314.

The Angel Choir, as it is called from the sculptures of angels in the spandrels of the triforium arcade, is deservedly one of the most popular works of the Middle Ages. Its general proportions necessarily follow those of Saint Hugh's work west of the eastern transept. But it is completely different in character. The great qualities of Hugh's work are repose and somewhat massive dignity; those of the Angel Choir grace and crispness. The work has a certain debonair and cheerful quality, contrasting with the solemn music of Saint Hugh. Here and there it falls short of perfection, as in the sudden change of scale from the side walls to the vast east window, and in the lack of architectural connexion between the storeyed treatment of the one and the unity of the other. This is a weakness which Lincoln shares with some other square-ended churches. Then, again, the outside of the east end is unrestrained and overcrowded; the gable contains—but barely contains—a large window which lights only the space above the vaulting and forms something of an anticlimax to the great window below. But criticism falters before its exquisite music and romantic beauty.

The new building has been sometimes spoken of as part of the presbytery. Its more common name of the Angel Choir was given in allusion to the sculptured figures of angels who play on musical instruments, not at all to the human choir, which was always much farther to the west, as it is at present. The new work added little or nothing to the presbytery proper, from which it is separated by a reredos. It is really a splendid house for the shrine of Saint Hugh, which was placed in the midst of it. Doorways were provided at the sides, a particularly rich and beautiful one to the south for the entrance of visitors to the shrine, and a plainer one to the



LINCOLN. THE ANGEL CHOIR

north for their exit. Three small side chapels were thrown out between buttresses in the fifteenth century.

When the newly arranged presbytery was finished a particularly interesting Easter sepulchre was made in the bay immediately to the east of the east transept, between two columns on the north side. The sepulchre proper—the eastern part of the whole composition—stands under a stone canopy supported on three arches. Its front is decorated with very beautiful sculptures of the soldiers who were set to guard the sepulchre of Our Lord; they are in the armour of the early part of the fourteenth century, and are represented as sleeping. The western half of the structure is similar to the sepulchre, but has not the sculptured soldiers; it may possibly have been the tomb of the donor. The end walls and the central division are carved with very interesting patterns of natural foliage. An Easter sepulchre of one sort or another existed in every church; that at Lincoln is merely a particularly interesting and beautiful example. In some churches it was merely a recess in the north wall of the chancel, in others a temporary structure of wood put up for the occasion and then removed. The occasion was the burial of an image of the Saviour on Good Friday, with an elaborate ritual, and its bringing forth on Easter Sunday with great rejoicing.

When Grosseteste's famous screen-front stood intact Lincoln was singularly rich in sculpture. But she has been one of the unfortunate cathedrals in this respect. Her situation in the Puritan half of England ensured the destruction of its figures as idolatrous. The angels of the famous Angel Choir have escaped, but are placed too high for all who have not the very best eyesight. But the carved foliage of the capitals is profuse, very varied and very interesting. As a great deal of it is on the capitals of wall arcades near to the floor it can be

examined closely without difficulty. The types range from the simplest sprays and volutes to the most sumptuous wreaths. On the screen at the back of the stalls on the north side of the choir there are some very curious experiments in natural foliage, in which oak, hop, and ivy are arranged in crocket form, very different from the wreath form of the fourteenth century. The Easter sepulchre contains natural foliage of a more perfected form.

In the south aisle of the choir there are some scanty remains of the shrine of the boy Hugh who was venerated as a martyr. He was thought to have suffered death at the hands of the Jews in 1255. The story, which is referred to by Chaucer as being certainly true for the simple reason that it was but a little while ago, tells how Hugh, then aged eight, was playing at ball with his companions, when the ball was thrown into the garden of a Jew. Hugh was inveigled into the house and 'sticked like a swine,' as the poet expresses it. It was generally believed that he underwent a mock trial in which one of the Jews played the part of Pilate, and so forth, that then he was crucified, and his body afterwards thrown into a well. Similar stories are told in other places in England (notably at Norwich) and on the Continent to the number of several dozen. Before pronouncing them to be fabrications it would be necessary to collect and sift the evidence in each case. Some have been almost proved to be false; and indeed this sort of story has improbability written large on its face; it is notorious that in dealing with the Jews the Christians always lost their heads. At Lincoln the death of a single boy was avenged (granting for the moment that the charge was proved) by the execution of thirty-two Jews, the ringleader being dragged at the feet of 'wild horses' till he died.

About this time—the middle of the thirteenth century—the chapter-house was built, a fine ten-sided

building with a vestibule. The bold flying buttresses are of rather later date. It was here that the memorable trial of the Knights Templars was held in 1308. The cloister was built between 1280 and 1300. In the fifteenth century a library was built over the northern half of the east walk; a small but interesting fragment of this still remains, and one or two of the old cases with desks and arrangements for chaining the books. The old library now serves as a vestibule to the great library built by Sir Christopher Wren. This building occupies the north side of the court. It stands on the site of the north walk of the medieval cloister which had been destroyed long before Wren's time. It is an offence to those good souls who still think that anything but Gothic is impossible for sacred buildings. Wren's library is a fine room on the upper floor over a spacious cloister which is separated from the green sward only by an open arcade.

Early in the fourteenth century the central or rood tower,—now corruptly called the 'Broad Tower,'—which had been rebuilt after its fall by Grosseteste, was raised to its present height and capped by a lofty wood spire covered with lead. This was blown down in 1547. The parapet dates from 1775. The western towers were completed later in the fourteenth century; they also had lead-covered spires. There is a curious story told of how, in 1726, the dean and chapter decided to take down these spires on the ground that they were out of repair, but when the townsmen saw what was being done such a riot ensued that the order was revoked and the spires repaired. They were, however, taken down in 1807 without protest.

Thus was the making of Lincoln Minster finished while English medieval architecture, of which it is perhaps the noblest exponent, was still in its prime. It matters not how it came about, what share each had :

the great Grosseteste or the unknown de Noyers, the sombre Remigius or the bright Saint Hugh. We are concerned only with the result, for architecture may fairly claim to be judged by the result alone : by managed values, by warmth of colour, by beauty of form, by audacity and skill in construction, by dignity of mass, by a vitality which makes 'the very stones cry out.'

YORK

THERE is a certain fitness in the fact that one of the earliest references to York Minster should be to its glass windows. It is recorded that Bishop Wilfrid in the middle of the seventh century brought from the Continent artificers and artists and glazed the windows of the church. For it is its coloured glass more than any of its just claims to great architecture which distinguishes York from all other English cathedrals.

Wilfrid's energy and force of character found vent in his own architectural work and in his advocacy of improved methods of building. York Minster was the first church which he took in hand. The building had then been standing nearly a hundred and fifty years and had fallen into a sad state of decay. The roof, which was probably of thatch, let in the wet, the walls were filthy, the birds flew in and out through the windows. Wilfrid covered the roof with lead, a metal which was used a good deal even in those early times, and he whitewashed the walls. He put glass in the windows, so that birds and weather were kept out and the light was not obscured as it was by the ordinary wood lattices. The bishop also provided all things necessary for 'the altar'—there was therefore, it would seem, but one altar at that time.

The church which Wilfrid thus repaired had been begun by Paulinus, a missionary sent from Rome in 601 to assist Saint Augustine. When in 627 Eadwine,

the pagan King of Northumbria, married Æthelburh, a Christian princess of Kent, Paulinus was consecrated Bishop of the Northumbrians, and accompanied the pair to York. He converted the King, and had begun to build a church when Eadwine was defeated and slain by Penda, the mighty King of the Mercians. Hard upon the heels of him who brought the tidings followed one bearing the head of the dead King. Paulinus buried it in the unfinished minster in a porch or chapel dedicated to Saint Gregory, and then fled with the Queen to the coast and took ship for Kent. The conqueror occupied York and harried the country round. Pestilence and famine naturally followed the defeat and ravage, and many converts apostatized. The year 634 came to be called 'the hateful year.' But though Paulinus had found that his duty lay in peaceful Kent, his deacon James remained behind, 'faithful and undismayed.' The lamp of the true faith was kept burning in the north by him and by Saint Aidan, the leader of the Scottish mission, till Penda himself was defeated and slain, and heathenism finally routed.

To return to Wilfrid. He had been born in 'the hateful year,' a fact which may account for some traits of temperament which seem to become apparent as we trace his chequered career. In 664 he was protagonist on the side of Rome in the famous Conference of Whitby, being then thirty years of age. In the same year he became Bishop of York, and went to Gaul to receive consecration at the hands of a bishop whom he considered more sound than those of his own country. It was three years before he returned, and he then found that his see had been given to another, Ceadda,—now known as Saint Chad,—a member of the Scottish party to which Wilfrid was so strongly opposed. A year or two later, however, Theodore arrived from Rome as Archbishop of Canterbury; he visited the north,



YORK FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

and being dissatisfied with Chad's consecration, the latter resigned, and was not long afterwards consecrated by Theodore to the see of Lichfield. Wilfrid then began his short but energetic career as Bishop of York. He repaired the church, as already described, and also built the famous churches at Hexham and Ripon, of which the crypts remain to this day.

There is some obscurity about the next change in Wilfrid's fortunes. Theodore, apparently without consulting him, divided his diocese into four—York, Lindisfarne, Hexham, and Whitherne. Wilfrid thought himself unjustly used, and appealed in person to the Pope. He returned two years later—in 680—bearing with him the Pope's decision, which was to all intents and purposes entirely in his favour. The judgement was disregarded. Wilfrid was thrown into prison by Ecgrith, the Northumbrian king, simply on the ground, it would seem, of his having appealed to Rome, and Theodore still further subdivided his diocese. Rejecting offers of release on the condition of admitting himself to be in the wrong, Wilfrid remained in prison for months, suffering much. His release was followed by years of wanderings. Driven from court to court through the influence of his old enemy the King of the Northumbrians, he at last fled to the land of the South Saxons and set himself about their conversion. But his proud spirit was unbroken, and he kept alive his claims to the undivided see of which he had been deprived. At last, after eight years, he and the aged Theodore were reconciled, and Wilfrid was restored to part of his former diocese: he was made Bishop of York. Here he remained for six years. But constant friction between him and Aldfrith, who had succeeded Ecgrith as King of Northumbria, obliged him to leave the diocese. He became Bishop of Leicester. Then came another quarrel with all his brother-bishops, and another appeal

to Rome. Again the Pope decided in his favour, and again the decision was ignored. Just then the bishopric of York fell vacant, and his enemies had a golden opportunity of complying with the Pope's decree without compromising the national independence by giving the see once more to Wilfrid. But the feeling against him was too strong; John of Beverley, Bishop of Hexham, was translated to York, and Wilfrid was made Bishop of Hexham. This must have been the most unkindest cut of all. Wilfrid died four years afterwards, in 709.

The chronicles of York for the eighth century are bright with names worthy to rank with that of Wilfrid: Saint John of Beverley (705-718), a pupil of Saint Hilda and himself the teacher of Bede, founder of the monastery of Beverley; Egbert (732-766), the first to wear the archiepiscopal pall and the founder of the famous monastery school of York; Alcium (735-804), one of its earliest scholars and its master, but not archbishop; Albert (766-782), famed for his learning, master of the school and afterwards bishop, friend of Alcuin; he it was who formed the valuable library. Such was the eighth century. With its close came the first appearance of the Northmen, and for the next hundred and fifty years history is entirely occupied with their ravages. We meet with no name of note till we come to that of Ealdred (1060-69), diplomatist and soldier, but also energetic ecclesiastic and stout defender of the Church. From him both Harold and William received the crown. The troubles which followed the Conquest are said to have broken his heart. He died in 1069, and a few months later the church was destroyed by fire in the attack made on York by the Northmen. With Ealdred the old order came to an end—the Saxon church and the Saxon line of archbishops.

Ealdred was succeeded by a Norman, Thomas of Bayeux, in 1070. The new archbishop found the minster

and city in ruins, and indeed the whole diocese devastated, and in parts depopulated, by the Conqueror's campaign of vengeance. The church with its famous library had been burnt, and not a religious house was left in the county. Archbishop Thomas repaired the church in a temporary fashion, and then set about its entire rebuilding. His church had a short presbytery, probably with an apse, built over a crypt of which perhaps remains may be seen in the western part of the present crypt. The nave was about two-thirds the length of the present nave. There was a central tower; the piers of the present tower contain some Norman masonry, now hidden by a later casing. Apses projected from the east walls of the transepts.

Archbishop Thomas was a very notable and worthy man, a scholar and a musician. He increased the number of canons and gave them a dean instead of an 'abbas.' He died in 1100.

Thomas's crypt and choir were rebuilt on a larger scale by Archbishop Roger (1154-81). His choir extended about as far as the present reredos. It was square-ended and was flanked by two small towers, of which the position is marked and the tradition in some sort preserved by the present eastern transepts—or transeptal bays, for they do not project beyond the aisles.

This completes the history of the buildings which preceded the present church. The rebuilding was begun in the first half of the thirteenth century, when Gothic architecture was fully developed. Something should, however, be said of two predecessors of Archbishop Roger, to wit Thurstan (1114-40) and William Fitzherbert (1143-54).

Thurstan's greatest work was his re-establishment of religious houses, all of which had been destroyed by the Conqueror some fifty years before. This was the

golden age of monachism, and Thurstan was the personal friend of Saint Bernard. During his episcopate (1114-40) six houses of Augustinian canons were established in Yorkshire, and the new order of reformed Benedictines, the Cistercians, was introduced. Thurstan founded or promoted the foundation of Byland, Rievaulx, and Fountains—all houses of this order. The last-named was due to the religious zeal of a few Benedictine monks of Saint Mary's Abbey at York, who besought the archbishop to establish them elsewhere, where they might lead a stricter life. He took them at their word. After entertaining them on Christmas Day at Ripon, he brought them to a wild and lonely spot on his own property in Skelldale, a place "more fit as it seemed for the dens of wild beasts than for the uses of mankind," and there he left them. Such was the beginning of the stately Fountains Abbey.

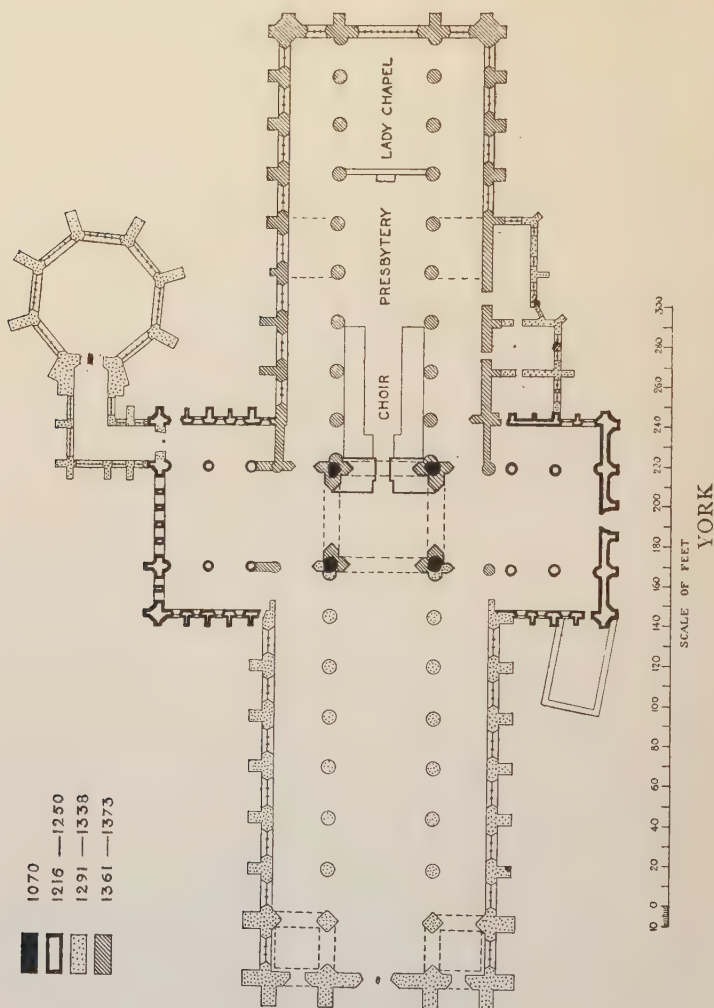
William Fitzherbert, who succeeded Thurstan in 1143, is better known as Saint William of York. It is not very clear why he was canonized, and indeed there seems to have been some little difficulty in procuring the assent of the Pope. It was obtained, a hundred and thirty years after his death, by Anthony Bek, then Bishop elect of Durham, with 'money and urgent entreaties.' Bishop William, whose career had been chequered by misfortune, ultimately became the accepted patron saint of the minster.

The rebuilding of the old minster—the building of the present minster—was begun in the time of Archbishop Walter de Gray (1216-55), a prominent statesman of his day, a great benefactor to the diocese, and the original builder of Bishopthorpe, which is still the residence of the archbishops. A beginning was made with the south transept, where the beautiful monument of the archbishop may be seen to this day. This work has been restored, but it is probably a fairly faithful

presentment of the original. The finials are ornamented with thrushes on wool-packs; it has been suggested that the wool-packs allude to the well-known seat of the Lord Chancellor which the archbishop had at one time occupied, while the thrush—still sometimes called the *grey bird*—is a pun on his name. The windows of the east aisle of this transept contain some admirable glass with fine figure drawing. The north transept was built immediately after the south. Here are the famous five lancet windows with contemporary glass, called the 'Five Sisters.' The name is natural enough, but stories have been invented to give a less obvious explanation: something about five devout ladies, and so on.

The next work to be undertaken was the nave. This was not begun till forty years later. The foundation was laid in 1291 by Archbishop le Romeyn, son of the John le Romeyn, sub-dean and treasurer, who had built the north transept. The work went on slowly, and the windows were not glazed till 1338, while the wood vault was not put up till 1355. The aisles are vaulted with stone. The present nave vault is modern, but reproduces the original vault. It seems that it had been intended to vault the nave with stone, for the clerestory walls had been prepared for flying buttresses over the roofs of the aisles which would have been required to resist the thrust of a stone vault. There are other medieval examples of wood vaults designed on the lines of stone groining. The expedient is allowable where the clerestory has been designed for a vault, and where for one reason or another a stone ceiling is impossible. But a wood vault of this character should not enter into the original design. However frankly it may declare itself as timber-work, and thus avoid the charge of falsehood, it is a misapplication of material, the form being well adapted for stonework, in the use

of which it was developed, and singularly inappropriate for timber.



The Decorated period, during which the nave of York was built, saw the gradual elimination of the

triforium or blind storey. The York nave and choir afford examples of two stages in the process. In the nave the mullions of the clerestory windows begin immediately above the great arches, and the spaces between them are filled with stone panelling. The great west window is justly famous as a magnificent example of flowing tracery. It is set in a wall enriched with niches and panelling, which do not fit in very well or harmonize with the rest of the nave. On the north side there projects from the clerestory a curious bracket of stone in the form of a dragon's head; it is supposed to have been for the support of the font-cover.

The chapter-house was built at about the same time as the nave. It is octagonal and stands clear of the church, being connected with the north transept by a passage only. The great polygonal chapter-houses of this type are almost peculiar to the cathedrals which belonged to the secular canons, as Worcester, Lichfield, Hereford, Salisbury, Wells, and Lincoln. The Benedictines stuck to the old rectangular form, as at Gloucester. Westminster Abbey was Benedictine, and is an exception. York and Southwell chapter-houses are peculiar in having no central column; but the vault of the York chapter-house is of wood; it is modern and replaces an ancient one. There is no record of the building of the chapter-house, and authorities differ in their interpretation of the evidence of the fabric itself as to the date; suffice it to say that it probably falls between 1280 and 1320. It is a remarkably beautiful room with glorious glass, and is full of subtle refinement; a contemporary verse carved near the doorway informs us that

UT ROSA FLOS FLORUM

SIT EST DOMUS ISTA DOMORUM

The choir and presbytery, built by Archbishop Roger between 1154 and 1181, were still in use. It was now

determined to rebuild these on a more magnificent scale. It appears that the presbytery or eastern part was built first. The work was begun in 1361 and completed in 1373—an extraordinarily rapid piece of building for the Middle Ages. The speed was probably due to the energy of Archbishop Thoresby (1352-73), who contributed largely. The rebuilding of the choir followed immediately, and was finished by the end of the century. Thoresby was an eminent statesman and had been Lord Chancellor; but he resigned the Great Seal soon after he became archbishop, and devoted himself to reforming his diocese, the condition of which can only be described as rotten. It was in his time that the old dispute between York and Canterbury was settled, the Pope giving to the two archbishops the titles which they still retain of 'Primate of All England' and 'Primate of England.'

This was the great period of the secular canons. The enthusiasm for the monastic system was beginning to wane, and the canons' churches were growing in importance. Richard Scroope became archbishop in 1398. Son of a former Lord Chancellor, he himself held the Great Seal. He joined the Northern lords in the rising against Henry IV, but was seized along with the other rebels as described by Shakespeare. The story goes that Lord Chief Justice Gascoigne refused to pronounce sentence. However that may be, the archbishop was well and truly beheaded near his palace at Bishopthorpe in 1405. As a natural consequence his very real merits were magnified in the public opinion, he was thought a saint, and his shrine became a place of pilgrimage. During the Wars of the Roses the see was held by another of the prominent men of the kingdom, George Neville (1464-76), brother of the King-Maker. It must be admitted that several of the great archbishops of York were great through birth and circum-

stance rather than by reason of holy living and high thinking. Is made bishop at twenty-three—at least so far as temporalities were concerned ;—changes sides in Civil War ; becomes archbishop at thirty-two ; celebrates installation by a little dinner (oxen 80, sheep 1004, geese 3000, woodcock 4000, peafowl 100, seals 8, porpoises 4, wine 104 tuns, beer 300 tuns) ; dies at forty-four. And so no more of George Neville.

Rotherham (1480–1500) was a man of very different stamp ; second founder of Lincoln College, Oxford, a great benefactor to Cambridge, founder of a college at Rotherham and rebuilder of the church there, ambassador to France, Chancellor, faithful to Queen Elizabeth Woodville after the death of Edward IV. The line of medieval archbishops closes with Wolsey (1514–30).

We have seen that almost the whole building was completed in the fourteenth century ; the roof and the wooden vault of the choir were finished in 1405. There remained the three towers. The south-west tower was begun in 1433, and was probably finished by 1457 ; the north-west tower and the central tower proceeded slowly and were not finished till about 1470. The church was reconsecrated on 3rd July 1472. The most notable work done after this is the fine screen between the choir and the transept. Over the door there are mutilated remains of a sculptured composition from which the central figure has been removed ; censing angels remain on each side of the space which it occupied. But the great interest of the work lies in the row of statues of English kings in niches. The last niche is occupied by a modern figure of Henry VI. This takes the place of a statue of James I which was removed in the 'sixties to Ripon for some reason or another. The original statue of Henry VI was removed at some period unknown. " Like other effigies of the King, at Ripon and elsewhere, it seems to have been regarded with the reverence

bestowed on the image of a saint ; and it may possibly have been destroyed at the Reformation."

The screen which crosses the choir immediately behind the communion table is an exact copy of the medieval screen which it replaces. It now serves as a reredos, a purpose for which it is hardly suitable. Till 1726 the holy table stood one bay farther west between the two beautiful transeptal bays, and behind it there was a lofty wooden reredos painted and gilt. The space between the reredos and the screen seems to have been ceiled, and Professor Willis suggested that here stood the shrine of Saint William.

There is little more to record in the history of York. The post-Reformation archbishops did not make much mark in history, with perhaps the exception of John Williams (1641-50), the last of the ecclesiastical lord chancellors.

In modern times the minster has been singularly unfortunate in suffering from two serious fires in little more than ten years. In 1829 a lunatic hid himself in the church till after it was locked, set fire to the stalls, and escaped through a window. The flames destroyed all the woodwork of the choir, including the vault and roof, and the east window was saved with difficulty. The repairs cost £70,000. The second fire happened in 1840, and was accidental. It broke out in the south-west tower and spread to the roof of the nave, which it destroyed. The damage on this occasion amounted to £23,000.

York has nothing accidental or external to itself to recommend it. It has no advantages of position ; its immediate surroundings are for the most part prosaic and ill laid out—the west end, for instance, is fenced off with most unfortunate effect. The great minster has to depend on its quiet dignity and spaciousness, and on its splendid glass.



CARLISLE. THE SOUTH TRANSEPT

CARLISLE

IN 1092 William Rufus "fared north to Carlisle, and restored the city, and built the castle, and drove out Dolfin (who till then held the land), and set the castle with his men ; then he turned south again, and sent many churlish folk, with wives and cattle, to dwell in the land and till it." It has been said that this restoration of a deserted city and colonization of a district which had become practically a no-man's-land is the one good deed done by the Red King. As governor of Carlisle he left one Walter, a rich Norman priest and a follower of the Conqueror.

This Walter founded there a church, to be served by secular canons, in honour of the Blessed Virgin. When he died, the building was finished by Henry I, and it was probably by his will that the proposed establishment of secular clergy was changed for one of Augustinian canons : an order, it would seem, much favoured by the King. The church was finished before 1133, when the new diocese of Carlisle was created. Adelulf, prior of the Augustine canons of Nostel in Yorkshire and confessor to Henry, became the first bishop.

Of this church we can form a conjectural plan with some degree of certainty. It consisted of a presbytery probably of about half the length of the present choir and presbytery, and of the same width as the present nave. It had aisles, and was probably square ended. There was a central tower, transepts from which square chapels projected eastwards, and a nave of

eight bays with aisles. The canons' choir was probably under the tower and extended a few feet into the nave, for the shafts of the western arch of the tower are stopped at the level of the triforium, as was usually done when a flat wall face was required for stalls.

Enough of the central part of this building remains to give us a clear idea of the character of the whole. The work is very simple, but massive and grand. The triforium is absolutely plain, consisting of round arches without subdivision, and the rest of the work is nearly as severe. The piers of the tower, the two easternmost bays of the nave, nearly the whole of the south transept, and parts of the north transept all belong to this period. The arches leading into Saint Catharine's chapel and into the south aisle of the choir remain though the chapel and aisle themselves have been rebuilt. In the north transept the aisle arch can be traced. Purists will learn with horror that the whole of the outside was covered with stucco on which sham jointing was painted.

The church probably continued in this state till near the middle of the thirteenth century. About that time the presbytery was rebuilt, possibly by Bishop Silvester of Everdon, on its present lines. By this work the presbytery was probably doubled in length and the central part—the nave of the presbytery—was made half as wide again as formerly. The aisle walls, with their lancet windows and the elegant little wall arcade below them, are of this period. The work can scarcely have been finished when it was damaged by fire in 1286 and again in 1292. The old chronicler, with the exaggeration of his class, speaks of the church as having been destroyed by the later fire.

As a matter of fact, it appears that the columns of the main arcade were so much damaged that they had to be rebuilt. To do this without taking down the arches which they supported would be no very difficult

NORMAN

1245 — 1255

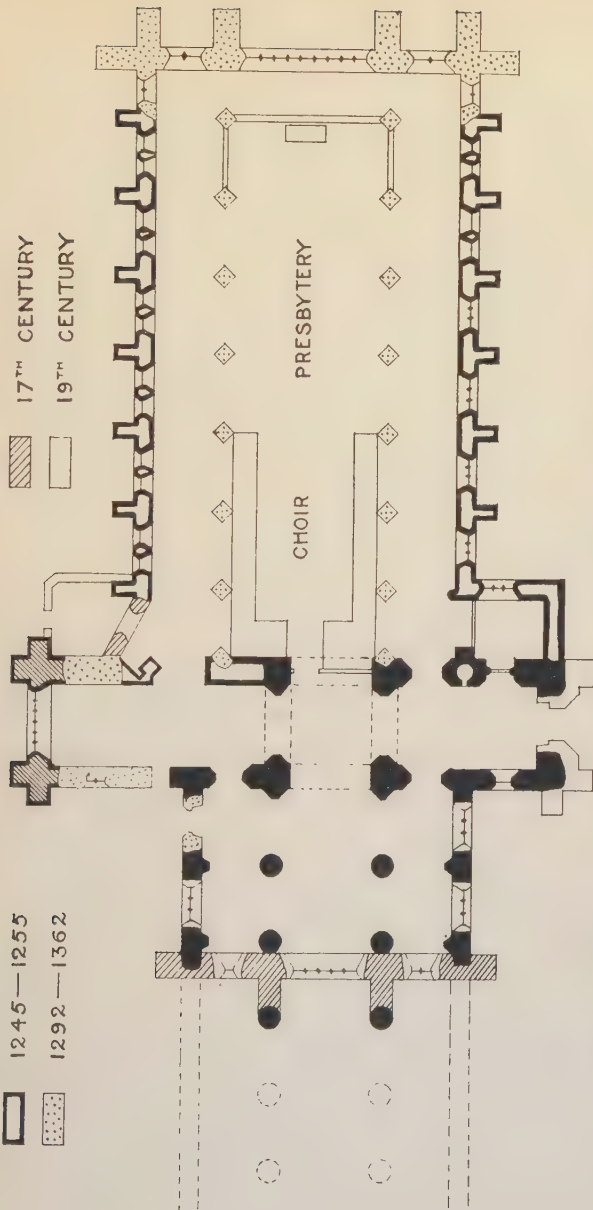
1292 — 1362



1400 — 1419

17TH CENTURY

19TH CENTURY



0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160 180 200
SCALE OF FEET
CARLISLE

matter. And thus we find arches with Early English characteristics such as the dog-tooth ornament standing on Decorated columns with wreaths of natural foliage round the capitals.

The work went on slowly. It included—either because they had been damaged in the fire, or for some other reason—the rebuilding of the triforium and clerestory. The east end was also entirely renewed, and the vaulting of the aisles was, it is thought, reconstructed with the old material. But even so it is difficult to understand why the work was not finished till after 1363, as is said to have been the case, for this gives more than seventy years. But when the work was at last completed, the result was eminently satisfactory. It included one of the finest windows in England. The east end, with this great window entirely filling the space between the two massive buttresses, is very characteristic of Northern work, and may be compared with Ripon, Selby, and Guisborough. The clerestory is hardly so satisfactory. The barrel-shaped wood ceiling is original, but has been repainted. The high altar stood between the first pair of columns from the east, leaving the narrow end bay as a procession path.

The north transept had been much injured by the fire of 1292, and was to a great extent rebuilt. But it was again burnt in 1392, and it has been dealt with thoroughly by the modern restorers. The central tower was rebuilt at the same time as the transept by Bishop William Strickland (1400–19). To him also are attributed the choir stalls, but the canopies are said to be later, not before 1433. At the back there are paintings of the time of Thomas Gondibour, prior in 1484. He is also thought to have put up the delicate little screen in the arch of Saint Catharine's chapel. In the north aisle there is the fragment of a fine screen, erected between 1542 and 1547 by Lancelot Salkeld,

the last prior and first dean, whose initials, L.S. D.C. (Lancelot Salkeld Decanus Carleolensis), it bears. This is a very interesting piece of work, being, at least as regards its detail, pure Renaissance in style. It has been said that it is far too mature to be English work of that time, and that it is undoubtedly French in design and execution. But the most remarkable fact about it is that the restorers have suffered it to remain.

Nothing is known of the destruction of the nave. It now consists of the two easternmost arches only, and these were until lately partitioned off from the rest of the cathedral and used as a parish church.

SODOR AND MAN

THE see of Sodor and Man claims to be the oldest in Britain, and to have an origin independent of the Roman mission to Canterbury or the Scottish mission to Lindisfarne. It was established by Saint Patrick in 447. In 1113 the diocese was united with that of the Sodorenses or Southern Islands (now the Hebrides), and the diocese thus formed was soon afterwards united by Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear (afterwards Pope Adrian IV, 1154-59) to Trondhjem in Norway. Man was separated from the Sodorenses in the fifteenth century, and became part of the province of York. "The modern name of the Bishopric of Man, 'Sodor and Man,' seems to have arisen from a mistake of a legal draughtsman in the seventeenth century who was ignorant that Man was ecclesiastically called Sodor. The full title of the see at the present day is *Bishop of the Isle of Man, of Sodor, of Sodor and Man, and of Sodor of Man.*"

Little or nothing seems to be known about the earliest buildings. There was formerly a cathedral church of Saint Patrick. The building of which the ruins still remain is dedicated to the honour of Saint Germain, the first bishop who was consecrated by Saint Patrick. It is situated on Saint Patrick's Island. The church is cruciform, with a central tower. It has a decidedly castellated appearance, and seems to form quite a part of the castle which surrounds it. The choir is the oldest part, and is attributed to Bishop Simon (1226-47). It is a fine specimen of Lancet architecture on a small



SAINT GERMAINS, ISLE OF MAN

scale, and strikes a solemn note in the group of picturesque buildings. The nave, aisles, and transepts are later. The total length of the church is but a hundred and fourteen feet. It is said that the lead was stripped from the roof by Thomas Wilson (1663-1755), bishop from 1697 till 1755, for roofing the church of an adjoining parish. After that the ruin of the building would of course soon become complete.

THE MONASTIC CHURCHES

CANTERBURY. ROCHESTER. WINCHESTER. WORCESTER.
ELY. NORWICH. DURHAM

THE MONASTIC CHURCHES

THE custom of placing a bishop's throne in the church of a religious house is peculiar to England. It was followed in seven instances in this country. It will be seen that of these seven three were of the first importance: Canterbury, the see of the Primate of all England; Durham, 'half church of God, half fortress 'gainst the Scot,' conferred on its bishop the title, power, and duties of an earl; Winchester was the ancient capital of the realm, and its bishop takes precedence of all others save London and Durham. Two others possessed great churches of the first rank: Norwich was the centre see of the principal manufacturing district of England, while the bishops of Ely had a large civil jurisdiction and for the most part considerable political prestige. Rochester is one of the earliest colonies from Canterbury, being contemporary with London; and Worcester was among the first to be formed out of the great diocese of Lichfield some seventy-five years later.

The stories of how, in one way or another, the churches came to be both cathedral and monastic are told in the following pages. Canterbury was always held by the monks, and so was Durham, and before it Chester-le-Street. At Winchester and Worcester and Rochester monks replaced canons, and Bishop Losinga seized the occasion of the removal of his seat from Thetford to Norwich to introduce monks. At Ely, the youngest of this group of dioceses, and at Ely alone was an

already existing monastic church made the cathedral church of a new diocese.

In every case the monks were of the Benedictine Order. At the time that Ely was chosen for the new cathedral, or monks were introduced into Rochester or Norwich, there was no alternative. The Cluniacs had barely gained a footing, and no other Order had made its appearance in England. And when, in the course of time, other Orders established themselves in the land and became popular and built great churches, they did not build churches of the right kind, or built them in wrong situations for cathedrals. And thus the monks' churches that were chosen as cathedrals in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries were also those which had belonged to the Benedictines: Chester, Gloucester, Peterborough, Saint Albans.

Although these monasteries were of abbey rank, their heads did not carry the title of abbot. The bishop was considered to be the abbot. But the prior was really supreme, and was a person of as much consideration with the world as an abbot. At Ely the last abbot became the first bishop; he continued to occupy his old stall, his successors have followed his practice, and no throne has ever been made.

The use of monastic churches as cathedrals had its inconveniences. The large rights which the monks possessed were not always compatible with the benefit of the public. The stalls forming what was called the monks' choir were placed either under the central tower or entirely in the nave. This was no doubt considered the natural and normal arrangement, and it may fairly be said to have been necessary by reason of the shortness of the eastern arm of the church in Norman times. The choir was separated from the western part of the church by the *pulpitum*, a high and massive structure which in effect divided the church into two—so much so, indeed,

that the western part, or people's church, had its principal and subordinate altars, its stalls, and all its proper organization. This subdivision was not felt in the old days as it is now. The western church was rich in furniture and in decoration, and over its altar towered the great rood. And a large space for a congregation in the modern sense was seldom required. Sermons were only occasional, and, in places of large population, were delivered out-of-doors as at Norwich and Worcester. So too were they preached at Saint Paul's Cross, for the canons gradually imitated the monks, in some degree, in cutting themselves off from the public, and at Saint Paul's the separation was very complete.

An organization such as a monastic order is almost bound to develop conservative tendencies, and the Benedictine monks show an inclination to follow precedent and tradition in their architecture. Indeed, the cloister itself—or at least its use as a living-place—is a piece of pure conservatism, an adhesion to tradition regardless of the difference between our bleak shores and sunny Italy. The apse and the triforium were sometimes retained by the Benedictines while they were being abandoned by others; and they stuck to the old west entrance for the most part. At Canterbury the position of the porch is perhaps due to the importance of the famous Suthdore of the Saxon church. At Durham, Chester and Worcester the sites were inconvenient for a western entrance.

This faithfulness to custom was of course always giving way at one point or another in matters of ritual arrangement or of pure architecture. Possibly the bishops were a modifying influence, for they were generally not monks, and were in many cases statesmen, men of the world, and men of travel. Thus of the twenty-nine bishops of Norwich from the Conquest to the Reformation several had held the offices of Master of the Rolls

and Privy Seal, others were Justices, three were chaplains and confessors to the King or Queen, six had been deans of secular cathedrals, some were prebendaries or Oxford dons, and one was papal legate. Only three had been monks of Holy Trinity, Norwich, and three of other houses ; six monks in all out of twenty-nine.

Other causes had their effects in breaking down tradition ; as early as the thirteenth century the monks of Durham showed that they could adopt a suggestion from the reforming Cistercians, and those of Peterborough that they could appreciate an artist of real originality.

In that great period of innovation, the fourteenth century, the Benedictines seem to have been, at the least, well in line with the spirit of the age. They were being constantly recruited from all classes of the people—a people less and less inclined to accept anything simply on the ground that it had been. Thus at Ely the fallen tower was replaced by the unprecedented octagon, and a new Lady chapel was built in the latest manner. The abbots of Gloucester were, by the transformation of their transept and choir, giving a new direction to the current of English architecture. Winchester was also well ahead of the times—though here, it is true, the bishops were at work. The nave of Canterbury is also quite advanced in style, and though the archbishops gave their countenance and encouragement to the work, its conduct is attributed to the prior of the convent.

As works of art, the Benedictine churches have suffered cruelly by the removal of the monastic buildings which abutted upon them, and which must have been taken into account by every one engaged in any work upon the church. Ely south transept, not beautiful before, is left naked and ugly ; Norwich is in the same plight, and has been made worse by restoration.

Winchester, Peterborough, and Saint Albans have had living flesh rudely torn from their sides, and all the others, though not so badly scarred, have been shorn of many of those smaller groups which almost every building requires as a foil and as an echo.

CANTERBURY .

THE story of Canterbury is the story of England. That long tale, so full of romantic beauty, of brutality, of bloodshed, and of progress, is here vividly recalled in many an historic scene. The stories of Ethelbert, Bertha, and Augustine ; of Theodore, of Dunstan, of Lanfranc, and of Anselm ; of Henry and Becket ; of the Black Prince, of Sudbury, and of Laud ; of Chichele, Pole, Parker ; and of all that long line of prelates of whom not a few were in fact as in name the first subjects in the realm—these are national history, but they are told the more dramatically at Canterbury.

The earliest chapter of English Christianity is missing at Christ Church Cathedral. The church of Saint Martin still preserves some part of the building in which Queen Bertha worshipped before the landing of Saint Augustine. Saint Pancras (otherwise Saint Augustine's), the church which the saint founded on the site of Ethelbert's pagan temple, shows some of the original work. But Christ Church itself has nothing of Saint Augustine's time, with one doubtful exception, and indeed nothing of the building which succeeded his. We have, however, a description by the monk Eadmer of the church which was burnt down in 1067, and there can be no doubt that this was the very one which Augustine had built between 597 and 604.

There was an apse at each end ; just in front of the chord of either apse was an altar—that of Christ towards



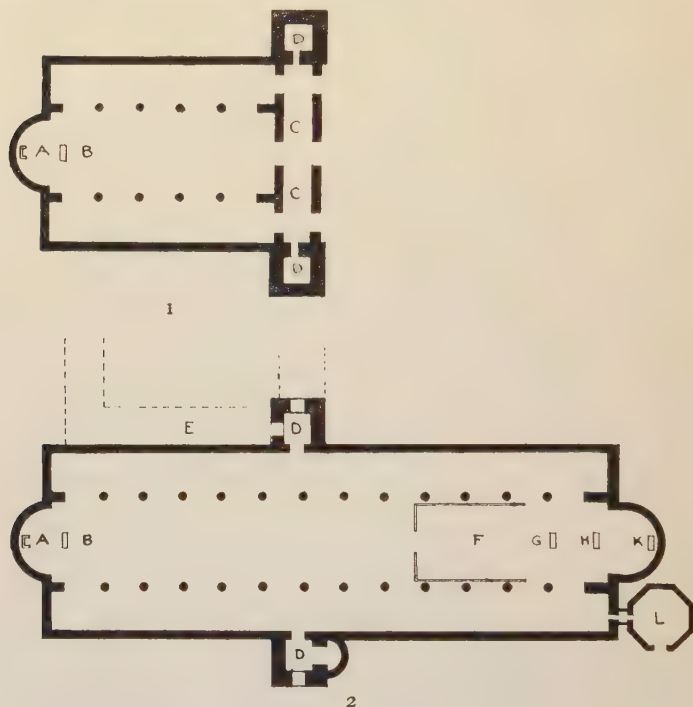
CANTERBURY FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

the east, and that of the Blessed Virgin towards the west. Against the wall of the eastern apse was a third altar, and the corresponding position in the western apse was occupied by the episcopal throne. About the middle of the length of the church were towers which projected beyond the aisles; the northern of these was connected with the cloister of the monks, the southern tower formed a porch to the church. It was called the *Suthdore*, and was, says Eadmer, often mentioned by this name in the old law-books. It was, in fact, a court for the trial of cases which could not be referred to the King's court or to the hundreds or counties. Below the eastern apse, which was raised several steps, there was a crypt or *confessio* in the likeness of that at Saint Peter's in Rome; within it was another altar and the relics of saints. The altar on the chord of the eastern apse was considered the high altar, and in front of it, in the nave, was the monks' choir enclosed by screens.

We are told that Saint Augustine's church was the restoration of an old building which he found in ruins, and Bede says that this church was a work of the Romans. But the building as Eadmer knew it was probably not as Augustine had left it. The whole of the eastern part had most likely been added since his day. Whether he repaired a ruined Roman church or built an entirely new one, the original building had probably a western apse only with the *cathedra* within it, and an eastern narthex or porch with a tower at each end. Such would be the normal basilican plan; it would have a strong general resemblance both to the Romano-British church at Silchester and to Saint Peter's at Rome. Both these had the western apse with the altar in the centre and the eastern narthex.

This primitive church was, it would appear, subsequently enlarged for the accommodation of the monks

—for Canterbury was from the first monastic—by the addition of an eastern part which almost reproduced the original building in a reversed position. The narthex was of course lost. The old altar and throne were



CANTERBURY. 1 Saint Augustine's Church. 2 The same, with later additions.

A archbishop's chair. B altar of Our Lady. C narthex. D towers. E cloister. F choir. G altar. H altar of Christ. K altar. L baptistery.

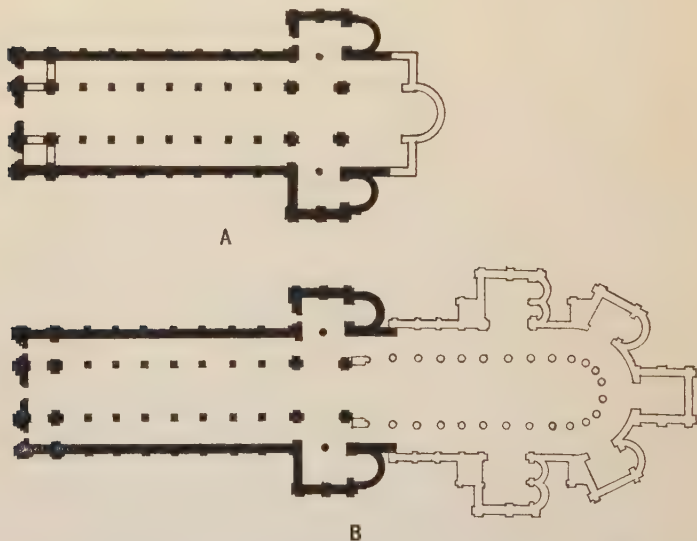
retained, and it is even thought by some that the remains of an early stone seat now preserved in Becket's crown are possibly relics of the actual chair used by Saint Augustine. A new altar was made at the east end and the space in front of it enclosed for the monks. A

confessio was made under the choir in imitation of the churches at Rome, as was afterwards done at Ripon and in some parish churches. Then, it is thought, as the monastery increased in importance the eastern altar came to be regarded as the high altar, and so the church was, as it were, turned round, and the eastward position of the altar, which has since become normal, was adopted. Such is believed to have been the process of development not only at Christ Church but in a number of churches of like plan in this country and on the Continent. Such will at least account for the change from a normal basilica to the church described by Eadmer.

This venerable church was completely destroyed by fire the year after the Conquest. Stigand was then archbishop, and when Lanfranc succeeded him, three years later, he found the cathedral still in ruins. Lanfranc had been prior of the abbey of Bec in Normandy, and in the year of the Conquest became abbot of the new monastery of Saint Stephen at Caen. He was a native of Pavia, and in rebuilding his cathedral he adopted a plan which was frequently used in Lombardy, and had been adopted at Caen. In that plan the aisles are carried nearly as far east as the presbytery, and like it are terminated by apses. One or more apses also project from the east face of each transept, so that there are sometimes five, sometimes seven apses. The arrangement has been called 'parallel apses' in distinction from the other common Norman plan in which the aisles are continued round the great apse.

Lanfranc's church then consisted of a short presbytery terminated by an apse, the whole equal to the three westernmost bays of the present choir, aisles of about the same length also apsidal, transepts with an apse projecting from the east face of each, and a nave of nine bays with aisles. The nave and aisles were the same

length as at present, and indeed the present work is said to rest on the Norman foundations. The transepts certainly are of the Norman plan, for some of the rough Norman masonry is visible above the floor. The transepts, as at Saint Stephen's, Caen, were divided into two stories, the lower of which was vaulted; under the presbytery there was a crypt. The church is said to have been finished in seven years, a statement to be



CANTERBURY. A Lanfranc's Church. B Church of Anselm, Ernulf and Conrad.

In plan A two columns in the choir are omitted. The form in which the aisles terminated is doubtful.

taken with a pinch of salt. Lanfranc also rebuilt and set in order the monastery, in which he placed a hundred and fifty monks. The palace stood to the north-west of the church.

In 1096, though the church can then have been but lately finished, Lanfranc's simple presbytery was taken

down and rebuilt on a new and elaborate plan, and on a scale of extraordinary magnificence. Tradition associates the work with the names of Ernulf and Conrad, priors of the convent, rather than with that of Archbishop Anselm, who had succeeded Lanfranc in 1093.

The plan adopted was that in which the aisle was carried round the great apse, forming what the French call a *chevet*. This was flanked by chapels so lofty that they were generally called towers, while to the east there projected a square chapel dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity. The north chapel bore the name of Saint Andrew. Saint Augustine, before he set out on his mission to England, had been prior of the convent of Saint Andrew in Rome, and it is possible that this dedication had survived from his day. The southern chapel—that of Saint Peter and Saint Paul—is commonly called Saint Anselm's. An eastern transept was also built from which four apses projected. The whole was raised on an undercroft—a remarkable instance of the force of tradition, for a crypt of such dimensions had no practical use.

This great conception must have been due to Ernulf, who was prior from about 1093 till 1107. The work was carried on by his successor, Conrad, who finished it in 1130. So splendid were the decorations of the rebuilding that it was emphatically called his—'Conrad's glorious choir'—to the somewhat undue suppression of Ernulf, who had laid down its lines.

This was the church which saw the murder of Becket on 29th December 1170. After his stormy altercation with the knights in the palace, his monks had half dragged him to the church, which they entered by the still existing doorway¹ in the north transept. It was now five o'clock on a midwinter evening, and the building must have been quite dark save for the glimmer here

¹ The position is the old one; the doorway has been twice rebuilt.

and there of a cresset in front of an altar and for the tapers which burned behind the choir screen ready for vespers. The monks would have barred the door, but this Becket forbade. He proceeded towards the choir, and was ascending the steps which led from the transept to the choir aisle when they heard again the knights with men-at-arms. The next moment the four knights entered the church: Hugh de Morville, William de Tracy, Reginald Fitzurse, and Richard le Breton, with a clerk, Hugh of Horsea. Then the brethren fled, and hid themselves in the dark chapels of the choir. But Becket turned with three of them, and met the knights against the pier which stands between the aisle and the chapel of Saint Benedict. Fierce words passed on both sides, and it is said that the archbishop threw Tracy to the ground, Fitzurse struck him, and they tried to drag him from the church. Then the rest drew their swords. Edward Grim, who bore the cross, and who alone now remained with the archbishop, parried the first blow with his arm, which was nearly severed. Two more blows finished the work. Hugh, the clerk, scattered the brains upon the floor, and then the murderers left the church and fled.

The next day the monks hastily buried the body in the crypt without religious service, for the church had been desecrated. But the grave immediately became a place of pilgrimage, and visions and miracles are recorded. Becket was canonized two years later. In July 1174 the King did penance, walking barefoot to the church, receiving a scourging from all the seventy monks, spending the night in vigil before the shrine and making costly gifts.

This was the last act in the choir of Anselm, Ernulf, and Conrad. Shortly afterward, on the 5th of September, it was destroyed by fire for the second time in little more than a century.

The monks, we are told by Gervase, who was one of their number and kept a minute record of these events and of the rebuilding, consulted the most eminent artificers of England and France. Most of them recommended the destruction of the remains and the erection of an entirely new building from the very ground. But the crypt was intact, and the side walls had been left standing to a considerable height almost uninjured, so that both economy and Benedictine conservatism pleaded in favour of their preservation. William of Sens undertook to reconstruct the building and to make use of such of the old work as was left. The task was placed in his hands. He began in 1175 at the west end, next to the transept, and worked eastwards. The arcades which separated the choir from the aisles were entirely rebuilt, the new columns being made nearly twelve feet higher than the old. They do not stand in exactly the same positions as the old columns, and consequently we see in the crypt the old piers thickened and new piers built up to the vault to carry the columns above. The old side walls were retained, but were raised an equal amount. Both round and pointed arches were used in the new work; the old painted wood ceiling was replaced by stone vaulting, and the plain capitals of the old work by exquisite foliage. Gervase specially records the fact that the old work had been done entirely with an axe, whereas the new carving was done with the chisel, and the passage is often quoted as indisputable contemporary evidence. But the old building had been finished about ten years before Gervase was born, and his statement that the chisel had not been used must not be taken quite literally.

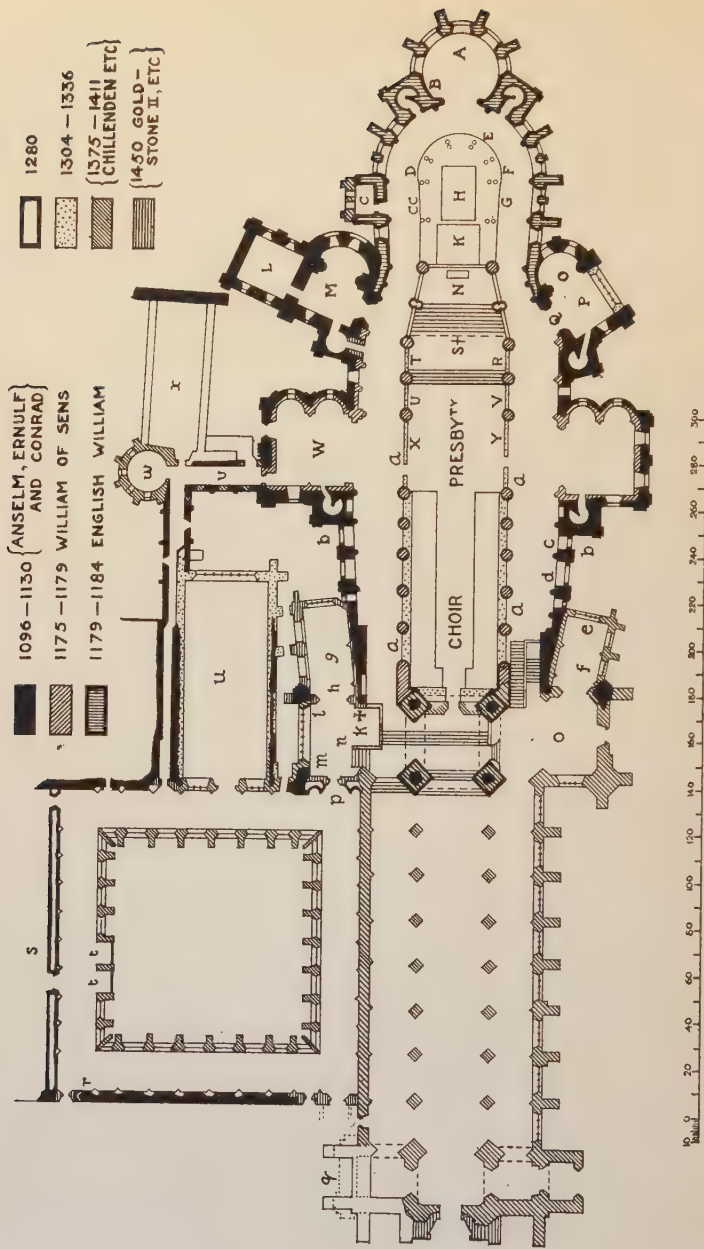
William of Sens carried on the work successfully for about four years; but in 1179, while superintending some work on the scaffolding, he fell from a height of fifty feet. Although badly injured, he was able to

direct the work from his bed for several months, using as a go-between a young monk. When sufficiently recovered, William of Sens returned to France, leaving the work entirely in the hands of another man.

Gervase describes the new architect as "William by name, by nation English, small in body, but in workmanship of many kinds acute and honest." He, of course, continued the choir, which must have been still far from finished. The new eastern chapel, rebuilt on a new and improved plan worthy of a house for the shrine of Saint Thomas, is entirely his. His work may be distinguished from that of his predecessor and master. He was for one thing less hampered by the old walls, every year now saw new developments in architecture, and the architect was perhaps able to overcome some of the conservative prejudices of the brethren. The difference in the treatment of the triforium and clerestory by the two hands is obvious. In the new east end William the Englishman took full advantage of the recent advances in construction and in decoration, and the work is almost pure Gothic. The plan is remarkable, approaching as it does to a horseshoe form. His reason for using that form is that it was necessary to provide a wide space for the crowds who visited the tomb of the martyr, and at the same time he had to make the west end narrow enough to get in between the two old chapels of Saint Andrew and Saint Anselm. Saint Thomas's chapel is raised on a crypt of greater height than that under the presbytery. At the east end there is an apse forming an almost complete circle, which is generally known as 'Becket's crown.' The name was probably merely suggested by its circular form and its proximity to the shrine; it is doubtful whether it contained, as has been supposed, the upper part of the skull which Richard le Breton's sword had severed from the archbishop's head.

The work is said to have been completed in 1184, but for some reason or another—probably the turmoil of John's reign—the remains of the saint were not translated from the humble grave in the crypt to the shrine which had been prepared for them till 1220. Then the ceremony was performed with due pomp in the presence of a great gathering of magnates, headed by the young King Henry III. The pavement round the shrine is still preserved in position, deeply worn by the feet and knees of innumerable pilgrims. To the west, where stood an altar, it is of that sort of mosaic known as *opus Alexandrinum*. On the vault above gleams a golden crescent—perhaps a trophy from the Holy Land. Of the shrine itself not a fragment remains. The special animus of Henry VIII against the prelate who had withstood the royal power ensured the obliteration of almost every memorial of the archbishop not at Canterbury only but throughout the kingdom. One immaterial memorial indeed escaped his notice. Becket, who had sung his first mass in the old Trinity chapel, had immediately after his consecration fixed the date of the Feast of the Holy Trinity, and this was afterwards adopted throughout Europe. As Henry VIII himself professed a peculiar devotion to the Holy Trinity, there is a grim irony in the fact that he should have omitted to alter a date that had been fixed by the 'rebel and traitor.'

The influence of France, and of Normandy in particular, is clearly seen at Canterbury in the sexpartite arrangement of the vaulting, in the proportion of the three storeys, in the plan of the piers, in the acanthus-like character of the foliage, and in some other details. In other respects the work is purely English. As a piece of art the building is a model of masculine strength. The severity of the outside, amounting sometimes to gauntness, is relieved from poverty by an occasional



CANTERBURY. **A** Becket's Crown. **B** monument of Cardinal Pole. **C** chantry chapel of Henry IV. **CC** tomb of Henry IV. **D** monument of Dean Wotton (1567). **E** of Cardinal Chatillon (1571). **F** of Archbishop Courtenay (1396). **G** of the Black Prince (1377). **H** site of shrine of Saint Thomas à Becket. **K** mosaic pavement marking position of altar. **L** treasury. **M** chapel of Saint Andrew. **N** present position of altar. **O** grave of Saint Anselm. **P** chapel of Saint Peter and Saint Paul (called Saint Anselm's chapel). **Q** tomb of Archbishop Mepham (1333). **R** of Archbishop Simon of Sudbury (1381). **S** position of altar till 1842. **T** tomb of Archbishop Bouchier (1486). **U** monument of Archbishop Howley (1848). **V** tomb of Archbishop Stratford (1348). **W** north-east transept. **X** tomb of Archbishop Chichele (1443). **Y** of Archbishop Kemp (1454). **Z** south-east transept. **a** screen of Prior Eastry. **bb** towers. **c** monument of a prior (?). **d** of Archbishop Reynolds. **e** grave of Archbishop Simon Langton. **f** chapel of Saint Michael (called the warriors' chapel). **g** Lady chapel (called the Deans' chapel). **h** site of apse to which Grim fled. **k** spot where Saint Thomas à Becket fell. **l** tomb of Archbishop Wareham (1532). **m** of Archbishop Peckham (1292). **n** north-west transept (called the martyrdom). **o** south-west transept. **p** door by which Becket and the knights entered the church. **q** site of Lanfranc's north-west tower. **r** a 'turn.' **s** dining hall. **t** lavatory. **u** chapter-house. **v** passage over small Norman cloister. **w** conduit house. **x** library.

emphasis, as for instance in the rich treatment of the little towers so happily placed in the angles formed by the eastern transept and aisles. This external plainness, due in great part to the remains of the earlier building having been preserved after the fire, bears a just relation to the richness within. That richness results rather from the proper management of values than from a great amount of ornament. Many of the windows still retain their beautiful coloured glass, which by some extraordinary luck escaped the zeal of the Puritan reformer, one Blue Dick who took upon himself to purge the cathedral of idolatry.

Against the walls and under the arches are many monuments of mighty men of old. First in interest and in date is that of the Black Prince, who died in 1376. The tomb and its recumbent effigy are admirably simple and dignified. The head is covered by a basinet and rests on a large tilting helmet surmounted by a leopard as crest. Above hang the well-known funeral trophies. The Prince had founded a chantry chapel in the crypt below on the occasion of his marriage.

The tomb of Henry IV and his second queen, Joan of Navarre, is almost as simple and is full of interest. The composition is treated as if the figures had been standing in canopied niches which had been laid down flat on the tomb. This treatment was common almost all through the Middle Ages, but it is not quite satisfactory, and this instance is no exception. Over the tomb is a simple flat wood canopy with exquisite little angels at the corners. Opposite to the tomb is the chantry chapel founded by the King.

Near the tomb of the Black Prince is that of Archbishop Simon of Sudbury (1375-81), who built the great gate to the close.¹ He incurred the hatred of the mob on account of his having advocated the poll-tax. He was

¹ The north-west gate.

with King Richard in the Tower when Wat Tyler's rebellion broke out, and when the King went out to meet the rebels some of the mob broke into the Tower and beheaded the archbishop. His head was stuck on London Bridge, but the body was sent by Sir William Walworth to Canterbury and buried in the cathedral. The tomb was accidentally broken open not very long ago, and it was found that the place of the head was occupied by a leaden ball.

The monuments of Archbishops Simon de Mepham (1328-33), Cardinal Bouchier (1454-86), and Henry Chichele (1414-43) should also be noted. Chichele, it will be remembered, was the founder of All Souls' College, Oxford, and of a college for Cistercian monks, now Saint John's College. He built a library for the monks of Christ Church over the thirteenth-century prior's chapel, between the dormitory and infirmary, and furnished it with books.

The choir is separated from its aisles and from the transepts and nave by a stone screen put up by Prior Henry of Eastry in 1305. It must, of course, take the place of an earlier one. The western face of the screen is an addition or a rebuilding of the fifteenth century enriched with excellent sculpture. Passing through the screen, we descend the steps into the transept. The northern arm has been very much altered since the time of the martyrdom, but the arrangement of the steps as they were then is preserved in the south transept. The division into two storeys has been obliterated, and much of the original work was covered or rebuilt when Prior Chillenden rebuilt the nave. The apse containing the altar of Saint Benedict to which Edward Grim fled wounded, was destroyed by (the first) prior Goldstone, who built in its place a rectangular Lady chapel soon after 1450. It is now sometimes called the Dean's chapel, from the several monuments of former deans which it contains.

The two beautiful monuments against the end wall of the transept are those of Archbishops John Peckham (1279-92) and William Warham (1503-32). The glass of the window above was given by Edward IV and his queen.

After the rebuilding of the eastern arm of the church in the latter part of the twelfth century but little work of importance was done for a space of two hundred years. But towards the end of the fourteenth century the venerable nave and transepts which Lanfranc had built immediately after the Conquest had become ruinous, and their rebuilding was taken in hand. In 1378, Archbishop Sudbury granted a forty days' Indulgence to those who contributed towards the expense—"a method of raising funds," says a Guide, "now replaced by the unsatisfactory method of bazaars."

Although the scheme received the support of the archbishops, it was really carried through by the Convent, and their prior, Chillenden, is always credited with the design. The priors of Canterbury were, it must be remembered, very great people. The abbacy was merged in the archbishopric, so that the prior was the virtual head of the monastery. He sat in the House of Lords, and had the right of wearing the mitre and of carrying the episcopal staff.

The new nave is pure Perpendicular in character, not in its details only, but in the general conception. It may be usefully compared with Winchester, which was in process of alteration by William of Wykeham at the same time. In both the triforium has disappeared and both have lierne vaults. Wykeham's mason was possibly the stronger man; on the other hand, perhaps Chillenden's mason had approached one step nearer to the Gothic ideal: a cat's-cradle of thrusts. At Winchester the building has been reduced to two storeys, but the two are strongly separated. At Canterbury

Chillenden made a bold push for a single storey. By his emphasis of the group of vaulting shaft and by suppressing the aisle arch to the edge of possibility he has gone far towards achieving his object. The aisle arch is just sufficient to carry some light panelling and tracery, which seem to come in almost accidentally and as an episode under the great arches of the vault.

At first the effect of the nave is chilling, deprived as it is of the warmth of colour and life of its former state; but one soon learns to appreciate it as a piece of art almost perfect in its style.

The work was probably finished by 1411, the year of Prior Chillenden's death. He built the south porch, and began the south tower, which was most likely finished by his successor. It is called the Arundel tower, after Archbishop Thomas Arundel (1396-1414), who gave the bells. The north-west tower was the only part of Lanfranc's work which was left standing. A part of it fell in the nineteenth century; the remainder was then taken down, and a new tower was built to match the south-west tower.

While building the new nave and remodelling the transepts, Prior Chillenden had encased the piers of Lanfranc's central tower and remodelled the lower part of the inside, and then rested. A hundred years later, quite near the end of the Gothic period, the second Prior Goldstone (1495-1527) built the present tower, perhaps the most graceful of all our central towers. Goldstone made the vaulting of the tower and, taught by the misfortunes of other cathedrals, built straining arches under the western and southern arches to strengthen the piers.

The same Prior Goldstone in 1517 built the handsome gateway commonly called Christ Church gate, at the end of Mercery Lane.

Prior Chillenden's rebuilding of the nave and aisles obviously required the destruction and renewal of the south walk of the cloister, and the three other alleys were rebuilt at the same time. The Norman cloister with a front of small open arches is believed to have remained till then. It occupied the same site as the present cloister; indeed, many of the walls surrounding this are of Norman character. Chillenden's cloister belongs to about the first decade of the fifteenth century, but is rather earlier in character. It is a rich piece of work, with an elaborate vault. The cloister was the living-place of monks, and in most houses efforts were made from time to time to give the brethren some protection from the cold. It was only gradually that the windows were glazed. A common plan in late times was to fit up little wooden enclosures called carrels, something like sentry-boxes, as studies. At Canterbury these were placed in the north walk, where they would get most sun, by Prior Eastry in 1317—that is, before the rebuilding. The windows of the present cloister were glazed in 1485. Along the north side ran the frater, or dining-hall, with the butteries at the west end. The cellarer's department was to the west of the cloister; here the cellarer had his lodging and office, and here he entertained the middle-class guest.

To the east stands the chapter-house, a noble hall 90 feet by 35 feet. A part of the site was occupied by the original Norman chapter-house which this replaced in 1304. The upper part was added by Prior Chillenden. "In the centre of the East Wall is a canopied seat. In this the Archbishop is placed at his enthronement, after having been placed first in the Dean's stall as head of the Cathedral body, next in his throne as Bishop of the Diocese, and then in Saint Augustine's Chair as Primate of All England" (*Official Guide*).

The monastic buildings were extensive and elaborate,

and their ruins are interesting and picturesque. The uses of most of them have been determined, but to describe them is beyond our present purpose. Two may be mentioned. The first is the Norman staircase, which led up to a hall, now destroyed, called the North Hall or New Hall, a building of the twelfth century, where the poorest class of guests were entertained. The second building is the beautiful little conduit-house, at which the water supply from various sources was collected, and from which it was again distributed to those buildings where it was required. The building is an octagon of late Norman date supported on open arches; the upper part was rebuilt by Prior Chillenden. It has sometimes been called the Baptistery, because the font which had been given to the cathedral by John Warner, Bishop of Rochester, about the middle of the seventeenth century, and had been turned out of the church, was placed here. Of course, the name is absurd; there never was a baptistery at Canterbury or anywhere else in England, and monks were the last people who would require one. To the east of the other monastic buildings stood the infirmary, now in picturesque ruin. The palace occupied by the archbishops from Saxon times was pillaged and fell into ruins under the Puritans.

ROCHESTER

ROCHESTER and London were the two outposts established by Saint Augustine during his lifetime. These two sees he founded in 604, the year of his death. Ethelbert the king built at Rochester a church which lasted till after the Conquest. Little is recorded of the five centuries which followed, except the ravages of the Danes. At the death of the last Saxon bishop in 1075 the church was in a wretched state; the building was decayed, and there were but four canons, and they were reduced to beggary. The foundations of this church have been found in recent times to the west of the present building: the west wall of the existing north aisle cuts obliquely across the Saxon apse; the Saxon church ran almost due east and west, while the present one lies about north-west to south-east.

The first Norman bishop died within a year of his consecration. The second was Gundulf (1076-1107), one of the most famous and certainly one of the most attractive of those who have ruled the see of Rochester. He was born about 1024 near Rouen, served in the cathedral there, and afterwards became a monk in the abbey of Bec. There he formed a close friendship with Lanfranc the prior, and followed him to Caen when Lanfranc became abbot of the monastery of Saint Stephen there, and to England when he was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. Lanfranc appreciated Gundulf's abilities, made much use of him, and eventually nominated him to the see of Rochester.



ROCHESTER. THE WEST DOORWAY

Gundulf immediately after his consecration set about building a new church, which forms the nucleus of the present building. The ruined tower on the north side of the choir, the west part of the crypt, and parts of the walls of the choir and nave are his work. The bishop was a famous builder. He had not merely a Norman's love of great architecture, but a reputation for technical knowledge. He was therefore employed by the Conqueror to build the White Tower, and by William Rufus to build Rochester Castle. Thus it is that one of spiritual nature and of gentle character, most noteworthy for his friendships, friendships with Anselm and Lanfranc, with the Conqueror and Rufus, one whom Henry I treated with respect and with whom Queen Matilda loved to talk, is known to posterity chiefly as a castle-builder, and especially as the builder of the White Tower, with all its sinister associations.

Gundulf was not less efficient as a bishop than skilful as an architect. He also changed the constitution of the cathedral, replacing the four or five old canons by a body of sixty Benedictine monks, well trained in reading and in singing. The nave was to continue as the parish church of Saint Nicholas.

Enough remains of Gundulf's church to give us a good idea of the whole. It had a square east end, which is remarkable in any church of that time, but is particularly so at Rochester, where French influence was evidently strong. Under the presbytery there was a crypt which in later times, at all events, contained at least six altars. From the east wall there projected a small building which is believed to have contained the tomb of Saint Paulinus. The length of the whole eastern arm of the church was about equal to the present choir—that is to say, its east wall was in about the middle of the present eastern transept. The choir was in the same position as at present, and was then as

now enclosed by solid walls instead of by arcades. The floor is raised considerably above the floor of the transept and nave in order to allow height for the crypt. There were transepts of good projection, but narrow and aisleless. The nave has a peculiarity which is no doubt due to the influence of Caen, where Gundulf had formerly been a monk, and where the same arrangement is found: there is a triforium arcade but no triforium gallery. The aisle is carried up above the triforium arcade, which therefore forms a second open arcade between the nave and aisle. Gundulf did not build the whole of the nave, but it was finished not long after his death, and it may be regarded as forming part of his scheme.

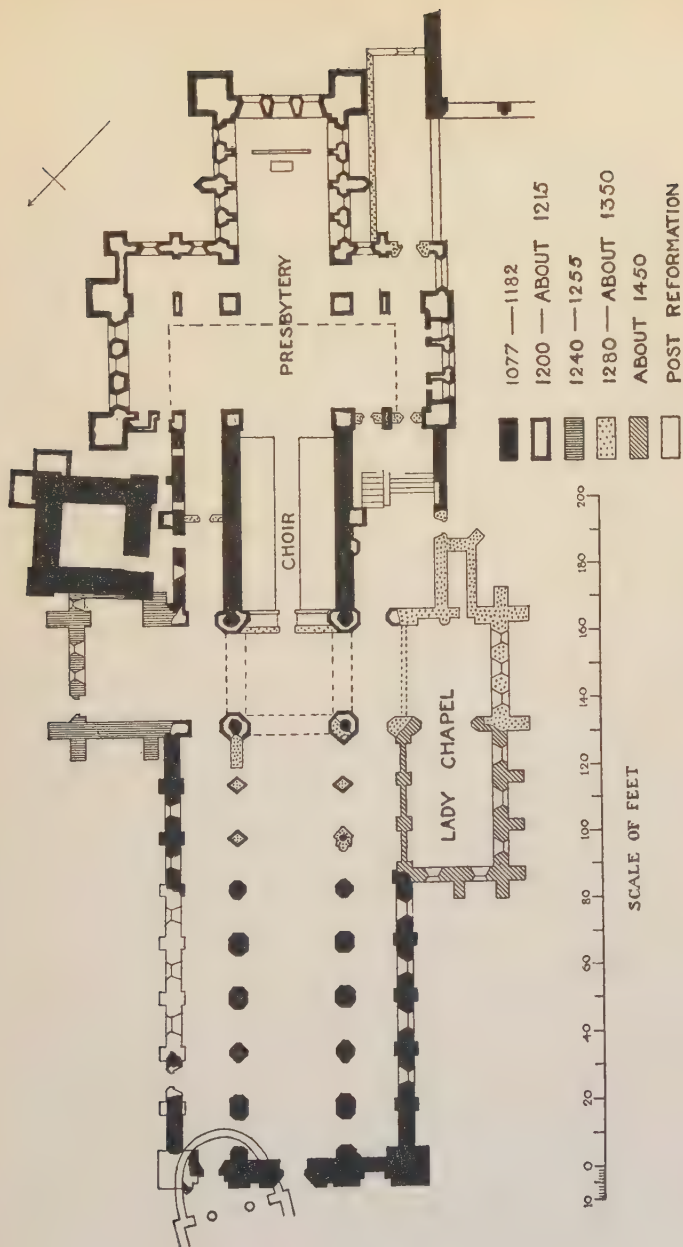
The now ruined tower standing just to the east of the north transept is Gundulf's work. Although the church has since been built up against it, the tower was originally detached, and does not stand quite square with the church. Detached belfries were formerly not uncommon.¹ This tower, however, is considered by the latest authority to have been a defensive tower built before the cathedral. There was a tower in the corresponding position on the south side of the choir, but smaller and not detached.

The cloister lay to the south of the nave, not on the site of the later cloister, which was south of the choir and presbytery.

Gundulf's work was resumed by Ernulf (1115-24), next but one in succession to him. As Prior of Canterbury and Abbot of Peterborough, Ernulf had shown himself a zealous builder. He or his successor finished the west end with its grand doorway, and built the chapter-house, the dormitory, and the refectory.

The west doorway is justly famous; it is certainly one of the very finest of Norman doorways. It cannot

¹ See Chichester, p. 34.



ROCHESTER

be considered as purely English in character, both the general proportions and the details taking us to the Continent. In the jambs on either side are statues of King Henry I and his queen, benefactors to the church.¹ The tympanum contains a figure of Our Lord enthroned in an aureole supported by angels and surrounded by the angel, the lion, the bull, and the eagle of the Evangelists. On the lintel is some weather-worn sculpture which is believed to have represented the Twelve Apostles. The whole work has decayed through time, and has been mutilated. It has recently been 'restored' with work 'carved in facsimile.'

Ernulf died in 1124, but his work was continued by his successor, and the church was finished in 1130. The building was consecrated in that year, four days after the consecration of Conrad's choir at Canterbury.

No alteration seems to have been made to the church for the next fifty years. But a fire occurred in 1179 which led to some repairs, and between the years 1180 and 1240 works of improvement and enlargement were almost continuous.

The piers of the crossing were first rebuilt, and a central tower was begun; for hitherto there had been none. Alterations were also made in the aisles of the choir during the latter part of the twelfth century. The greatest work of this time, however, and that which forms the most striking part of the present church, is the new presbytery and eastern transept, under the whole of which there is a lofty crypt. The work was begun about 1210, and was presumably finished not later than 1227, when the old choir, the walls of which had been partly cased and partly rebuilt, was reopened. Some benches still remaining in the choir are of this period. They are among the very earliest examples of

¹ Professor Lethaby thinks they are Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Compare Wells, west front, p. 55.

wood work in the country ; of excellent form and with remains of the original colouring. The building is an admirable example of the earliest phase of the Gothic style. It is remarkable for the massiveness of its construction, the effect of which is much enhanced by the turrets and tower-like buttresses at the angles.

In 1201 a certain William of Perth, a pilgrim to Palestine, had been murdered near Rochester. The monks seem to have observed what a valuable asset the shrine of a saint was to other churches, and to have made the most of the affair. William was hailed as a martyr, was commonly called Saint William, and about fifty years later he was formally canonized. It has been suggested that the offerings at his tomb formed the foundation of the new presbytery.

The north arm of the great or western transept followed next. It is said to have been finished before 1240, and is thus but a few years later than the eastern transept and presbytery. Nevertheless, it is considerably more advanced in style. It is much less massive, the lancets are skilfully grouped, and the whole design is more refined. The great transept is an enlargement of Gundulf's, which was narrow from east to west. The south arm was built about 1280, and soon after a chapel was built to the west of it, with an arch between the two, so that together they would form a single chapel in honour of Our Lady. The western part of the Lady chapel was rebuilt quite at the end of the fifteenth century.

The two easternmost bays of the nave were rebuilt about 1280. Against the western piers of the central tower there are remains of the *pulpitum*. The choir screen between the eastern piers is of the latter part of the thirteenth century with modern figures. It was at this time (1274-77) that Walter de Merton, the founder of Merton College and thus the inaugurator

of the collegiate system at Oxford and Cambridge, held the bishopric of Rochester. His tomb with a much later effigy is in a recess in the north wall of the north-east transept.

The last work of importance was the central tower. It was built by Bishop Hamo de Hythe (1319-52), who during those troubled times prudently kept aloof from politics and busied himself with the concerns of his diocese and with the fabric of his cathedral. He gave largely to the adornment of the church. He it was who built the beautiful and elaborate doorway leading from the south-eastern transept to a building now destroyed, the site of which is occupied by the modern chapter-house and library. The jambs of this door are richly sculptured: the principal figures are those of women representing the Jewish and Christian Churches, the first blindfold and with broken staff the latter triumphant. It was during Bishop Hamo's time that the first and great visitation of the Black Death occurred and carried off almost his entire household.

Not very much work was done after that catastrophe, but the western part of the Lady chapel was rebuilt, and the west window of the nave was inserted late in the fifteenth century. The church was allowed to become dilapidated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so that much, especially at the west end, is modern.

The cloister was removed in very early times from its original position on the south side of the nave to the south of the choir and presbytery. Some remains of the chapter-house and other of the conventual buildings which surrounded it are still to be seen.

WINCHESTER

THE old legends put the foundation of Winchester back in the second century. The church was, they say, destroyed in the persecution of Diocletian, refounded and dedicated to Saint Amphibalus, the priest whom Saint Alban had protected, and so forth. All My eye and Betty Martin.

The story of Winchester is sufficiently interesting without going beyond sober fact. Authentic history begins with the arrival in 635 of Bishop Birinus, a monk of Rome, who had obtained leave from the Pope to go on a mission to Britain without connexion with or reference to Canterbury. Saint Augustine had landed thirty-seven years before, and had now been dead some thirty years. Saint Aidan's mission arrived in Northumbria from Iona in this very same year, 635.

Birinus landed on the Hampshire coast and devoted himself to work among the West Saxons. He converted the King and many of his people. The King] built a church for him, which he dedicated in 646 in honour of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity. Birinus died in 650. He and his successor had their cathedral church at Dorchester, but a few years later the church at Winchester became the seat of the bishop. Birinus was canonized and his body translated from Dorchester to Winchester.

Thus was established the cathedral church and the diocese of Winchester by action independent alike of Saint Augustine's Roman mission to Kent, of Saint

Aidan's conversion of the north, and of the ancient British Christianity of Wales. And thus was Christianity adopted by that West Saxon line of kings, the line which was to become, and now is, the reigning house of a united England.

It is two hundred years after this that we come to the name peculiarly associated with Winchester, that of Saint Swithun, its patron saint. He was consecrated Bishop of Winchester in 852 and died in 862. In accordance with his own injunctions, he was buried outside the church in a place vile and unworthy, where his grave might be trodden by passers and receive the droppings from the eaves. The old tales, such as that of the forty days' rain which prevented the translation of his remains to a more honourable tomb, somewhat overshadow in the popular memory the real greatness and beauty of his character.

The Old Minster, as it was called, in distinction from the monastery which King Alfred had founded and in which he was buried, was served by secular clergy. In the middle of the tenth century these were rich men of high rank, who lived in luxury with their wives, and in some cases with women whom they preferred to their wives. But in 963 Æthelwold was consecrated to the see by Dunstan. He was the leader of the reformers in monastic life, and as Abbot of Abingdon had already wrought changes in that monastery. He determined on putting his cathedral church in order. He came armed with authority from the King to compel the canons either to become monks and live according to Benedictine Rule or else to make room for others. He arrived when the clergy were at service. After some hesitation he and the monks he had brought with him from Abingdon entered the church accompanied by Wulfstan of Dalham, one of the King's chief thegns. The canons yielded, and left the monks in possession.



WINCHESTER FROM THE SOUTH

Æthelwold, backed by King Eadgar, carried his reforms far afield, and as we shall see, re-established the monasteries of Ely and Peterborough, as well as many others.

Æthelwold translated the bones of Saint Swithun from their humble resting-place in the churchyard to a position of honour in the cathedral. The event was followed by many miracles, and these no doubt called forth the liberality of the faithful, and thus aided the bishop in the rebuilding of his church. He also made his monks assist by working as labourers and artisans. The new building was dedicated on 20th October 980. The King—Æthelred the Unready—with his ealdormen and other magnates rode over from Andover, some ten or fifteen miles distant, where they were holding a witenagemot. Then they made a great procession. Next after the King walked Archbishop Dunstan, 'with his snowy hair and angelic face,' then came Bishop Æthelwold and eight other bishops, and nearly every 'duke, noble, and abbot' in the land, including many of the anti-monastic party of the last reign, who had become 'sheep instead of wolves.' Æthelwold, like his master Dunstan, was himself a practical craftsman. Once, we are told, before he became bishop, 'the malignity of the adversary endeavoured to compass his destruction by allowing a great post to fall upon him whilst the holy man was working at construction.' He loved to adorn his church with precious ornaments of gold and silver, but once in a time of famine he sold them that he might feed the poor. He died in 984, four years after the dedication of his church. There is a contemporary poetical description of the building, but it is obscure, and has received several interpretations. Suffice it to say, that the church had an eastern apse and a crypt, numerous chapels with altars, a tower with pointed roofs surmounted by 'a mighty golden cock which boldly turns its face to every wind that

blows.' The church escaped the later ravages of the Danes, and received rich gifts from Canute. The last of the Saxon bishops was Stigand, who had made a bid for the see Elmham (but was outbid), who held Winchester together with Canterbury, and was excommunicated by five successive popes.

Walkelin, the first Norman bishop (1070-98), was a relative of the Conqueror himself. He began the building of the present church. His brother Simeon was made Prior of Winchester, and afterwards became Abbot of Ely; he began the rebuilding of the abbey church there before it became a cathedral, and some points of resemblance between the two churches may be traced, due no doubt in part to the relationship between the bishop and abbot.

The church was in several respects remarkable. The general character of the whole work and the proportions of the three storeys—pier-arches, triforium, and clerestory—may be seen in the transepts, which belong to this period. The plan consisted of a long nave, spacious transepts, and a comparatively short presbytery. The aisles were continued without interruption round the entire church, forming a long and splendid procession path. Where they cross the ends of the transepts they do not appear externally as aisles with lean-to roofs; the outer wall is carried up to the full height, and the triforium forms a simple gallery without the usual arcade. An arrangement of this kind seems to have been intended and partly carried out at Ely. The aisles continued round the great eastern apse, but were also continued eastwards as square-ended chapels. They possibly united at the west end before the alterations of later times. From the east end there projected a large apsidal-ended chapel. Under this chapel, and under the whole of the presbytery, there was a crypt, thus continuing the arrangement of the church built by Æthelwold, and possibly that of

Birinus. There was a tower at the crossing of the nave and transepts. At the west end there are foundations extending about forty feet west of the present front and projecting north and south beyond the aisles. They clearly indicate, it is generally thought, the existence of—or at least the intention to build—two western flanking towers. But it is perhaps more probable that the composition consisted of one central tower flanked by small transepts such as we see on a more magnificent scale at Ely. In either case the central and side divisions would probably communicate with one another and with the nave and aisles by archways, and thus would together form a sort of western aisle.

Besides these two or three principal towers the church seems to have been surrounded by a group of turrets or minor towers; such at least were, it is thought, intended whether actually built or not. One rose over each angle-bay of the transepts, and two more stood at the ends of the presbytery aisles, flanking the great apse, thus making eight or nine towers in all. Lastly the richly sculptured font, savage but splendid, of black Tournai marble, is a part of Walkelin's work.

Walkelin evidently pushed the work along with great energy, for the church which had been begun in 1079 was sufficiently far advanced in 1093 for the monks to take possession. The bishop was one of those who think that all is fair in church-building and war. There is a story told that the Conqueror promised him as much timber from a certain wood as his men could fell in four days. Walkelin thereupon collected all the men he could find, and much to the King's disgust cut down and carried off in the four days the entire wood. The building was consecrated with great rejoicing and glory on the 8th of April in the presence of nearly all the bishops and abbots of England. On the feast of Saint Swithun (15th July) they made a procession from

the old church to the new, bringing the shrine of the Saint. On the following day they began to pull down the old church, and the destruction was completed in that year, except one apse and the great altar. The altar was, it would appear, removed next year, when certain relics of Saint Swithun and of other saints were found beneath it. The exact position of the Saxon church is not known, but it is thought most probable that it was on the north side of the present church—possibly across the north transept.

Walkelin's central tower lived barely fifteen years. It fell in 1107. One of the old chroniclers attributes this to the fact that the body of William Rufus was buried there. But it is to be noted that the King had been killed in 1100, and so had lain seven years in the ground before the ill effects were felt. William of Malmesbury is more cautious, and suggests that it may possibly have been due to defective workmanship. The present tower was built soon afterwards on very massive supports.

After the death of Walkelin the diocese was without a bishop for nine years. In 1107 William Giffard was consecrated. He was succeeded in 1129 by the famous Henry of Blois, brother of King Stephen. He built Wolvesey Palace in Winchester and the splendid castle at Farnham, still the home of the Bishops of Winchester. The Norman buildings at Farnham, although now hidden by work of later periods, are easily traceable, and show a remarkable combination of castle and palace. Bishop Henry also founded the famous hospital of St. Cross near Winchester, and the greater part of the beautiful church was built before his death in 1171.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century Bishop Godfrey de Lucy (1189-1204) remodelled the east end of the cathedral. This he did in a fashion which had been already set by Hereford, and which afterwards became

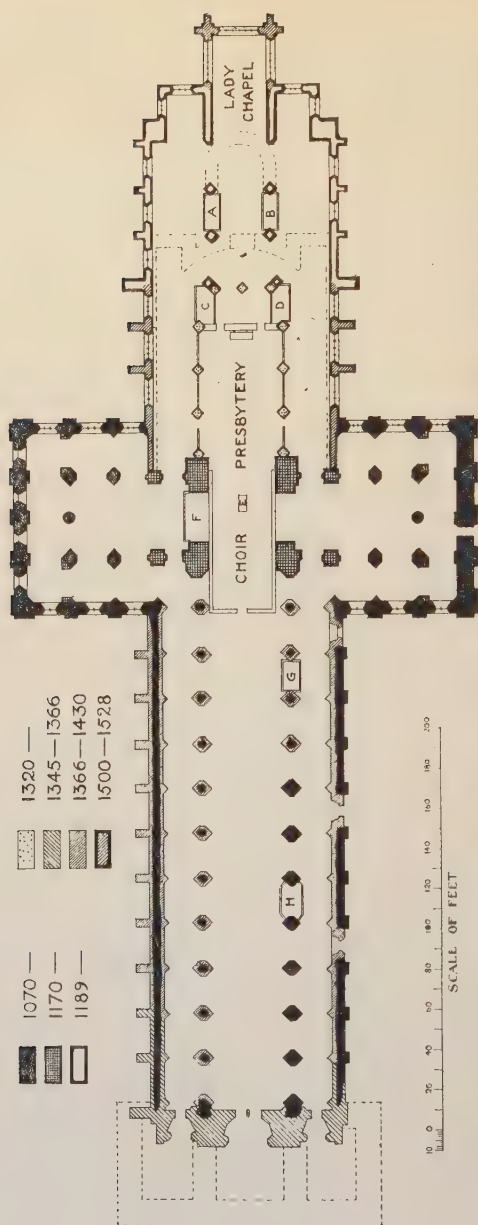
popular in the south and south-west. A low building forming a Lady chapel, and consisting of nave and aisles, all of about equal width and height, took the place of the Norman eastern chapel and of the towers which had terminated the presbytery aisles.

As the new building entirely enclosed the old it was not necessary to disturb that until the new work was well advanced. All the outer walls were built first, and when they were completed the Norman work which they surrounded was taken down and the columns and vaults were built. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the work underwent some alterations, which will be noticed in due course.

About a century after the completion of the Lady chapel the presbytery itself was gradually remodelled. The Norman piers were cut away and others built in their place during the first half of the fourteenth century. The shrines of Saint Swithun and Saint Birinus were placed at the east end in the enclosed space behind the reredos.

The splendid choir stalls with their admirable carvings occupy the space under the tower and the first bay of the nave; they date from the very beginning of the fourteenth century, or possibly from the end of the thirteenth. Behind them, under the north arch of the tower, there is the small enclosed chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, decorated with early paintings. This chapel, though much defaced, is interesting, for it gives a good idea of what the appearance must have been of many a medieval chapel. The pictures illustrate the Passion of our Lord; that over the place where the altar stood is the Deposition from the Cross, and on the vault is Christ in Majesty.

Perhaps the most remarkable, and certainly the most often retold, episode in the architectural history of Winchester is the remodelling of the Norman work by the great bishops of the fourteenth and fifteenth



WINCHESTER. A chantry chapel of Bishop Waynflete (1447-86). B of Cardinal Beaufort (1404-47). C of Bishop Gardiner (1531-55). D of Bishop Fox (1501-28). E tomb of William Rufus. F chapel of Holy Sepulchre. G chantry chapel of Bishop Edington. H of Bishop William of Wykeham.

centuries. The work was begun by Bishop Edington (1345-66), who had completed the reconstruction of the presbytery. He pulled down the Norman tower or towers, and indeed the whole of the west wing, so far as this had ever been completed: for some doubt has been expressed on the point. In place of it Edington built a plain front on the line of the eastern wall of the destroyed Norman building, thereby shortening the total length of the church by about 37 feet. The work is, it must be confessed, uninteresting; it is hard and monotonous, and entirely wanting in imagination.

Edington's works in the presbytery and at the west end were affairs of ordinary rebuilding. But the latter work was continued for two bays along the wall of the north aisle. This wall was not taken down; it was cased inside and out, and received new windows. Thus Edington inaugurated a transformation which his successors, and notably William of Wykeham, were to carry to such a remarkable conclusion. Bishop Edington, in addition to his works at the cathedral, which were not of really great extent nor probably of very great cost, founded and endowed a convent of Bonhommes at his native place of Edington, in Wiltshire. At the same time he left many buildings in a state of dilapidation.

William of Wykeham, who succeeded him, was consecrated bishop in 1367. He was then only forty-three years of age, but he had had great experience in designing and enlarging buildings for the King. He must already have been a wealthy man, for he held an extraordinary number of church preferments. He immediately set about the repair of the episcopal buildings; but he became Lord Chancellor in the year following his consecration, and during the next few years he must have been fully occupied in the affairs of his office

and in the political struggles of the time, no less after he had been deprived of office than while yet in power.

On his restoration to favour at the accession of Richard II, in 1377, he began the foundation of Winchester College and New College, Oxford, and these engaged his attention for many years. It was not till 1394, when he had held the see for twenty-seven years, that he began his works at the cathedral.

Till now the nave and aisles had remained, probably with little alteration, from Norman times. The aisles were covered with a low vault, above which was a lofty triforium gallery, practically equal in height to the main arches between the nave and aisles. Above the triforium was a clerestory, and this again was almost equal in height to each of the two lower storeys. These rather monotonous proportions are preserved in the transepts to which the nave must have had a fairly close resemblance. The nave was covered with a wood ceiling.

Wykeham's plan was briefly as follows: To retain the main supporting masses of the Norman work but to take down the parts between and to rebuild them in such a way as to divide the building into two storeys instead of three. The great structural supports of a nave, of course, really run through from floor to roof, although, perhaps, only a few small shafts appear to do so. These supports Wykeham retained. He made new main arches at a level very much higher than that of the Norman arches, he made new and more lofty vaults to the aisles, and covered the nave with a vault in place of the former wood ceiling.

The method of procedure would be somewhat as follows. The clerestory consisted practically of two walls, an outer and an inner with a passage between. The outer wall was preserved. The inner wall, which was pierced with arches, was almost entirely taken down. The triforium would then be taken in hand. Each bay

contained two small arches embraced by a large one. The small arches were taken down, but the large one was preserved. The ashlar facing of this arch was removed, leaving the rubble core exposed. Lastly, the vault of the aisle and the lowest tier of arches would be destroyed.

A skeleton building was thus left, and the remodelling could be begun. New shafts and mouldings were worked on the old Norman piers, and new work with the same shafts and mouldings were built above them, so that the new columns were twice the height of the Norman piers; new capitals and bases were inserted, and new arches were thrown from pier to pier. Immediately above the arches a sort of very slightly projecting balcony was made in each bay, approachable from the space above the aisle vault, but scarcely forming a triforium.

The clerestory and the piece of blank wall below it are combined into one whole by carrying heavy mullions up from the balcony to the vaulting, so that the whole is, as it were, one large window, the lower part of which is filled with stone. The nave vault was next constructed. It springs from the remodelled Norman shafts and abuts against the Norman wall. Even the Norman shafts which had run up to the wood ceiling were not destroyed, and where out of sight were not altered; they may still be seen from above in the pockets of Wykeham's vault.

Meanwhile the aisle walls had been cased—the north wall inside and out, the south wall inside only—and they had been considerably raised to correspond to the increased height of the nave arcade. When this had been done the aisle vaults were built.

The whole of this great work seems to have been carried out at one time, no part being pushed on very far ahead of the rest. The method was changed but slightly as the work proceeded. It seems that the

work began at the west end of the south side. The great piers of this part have the new mouldings chiselled on the Norman masonry, as already mentioned. But this seems to have been found a troublesome business, and the four eastern piers on the south side and all on the north have been faced with new ashlar.

Wykeham died in 1404 at the age of eighty, leaving the work unfinished. He had, however, made full provision for its completion. With characteristic precision he drew up, about fifteen months before his death, a businesslike will, in which he describes the order in which the remaining works are to be done and the conditions on which he bequeaths his money. The prior and convent are to provide the scaffold, they are to permit the bishop's workmen to dig the best lime and sand on their lands or the lands of their tenants, and all the old stone, timber, lead, iron, and glass, and any other materials which may be obtained from the old building are to be used in the new work. The conduct of the work was to be entrusted to Master William Winford and such others discreet, sufficient, and approved in their art as might be chosen by his executors. Winford was probably what we should call a clerk of works acting as manager without a general contractor. Dominus Simon Membury, now supervisor and paymaster, was to continue in the same offices under the supervision and control of Brother John Wayte, a monk of the house, and at present controller of the work on the part of the prior and convent. Two thousand five hundred marks was left for the completion of the fabric if so much was required, and five hundred marks for the glazing of the windows.

The work was completed by Wykeham's successors, Beaufort (1404-47) and Waynflete (1447-86), and we find their badges—the white hart chained for Beaufort

and the lily for Waynflete—carved upon the nave vault and elsewhere.

Wykeham's work owes its interest to his original method of procedure and to what we know of the man rather than to its artistic qualities. It is ingenious and it is strong, but it is not particularly impressive. The vault is good, but it is probably not his work. It is not a new invention, as we used to be told, *lierne* vaults having been used in other places at an earlier date. The transformation itself is not entirely original, for something of the sort had already been done in the choir of Gloucester. There, it is true, the work was carried out in a different way: little of the Norman work was destroyed, and the Perpendicular work was built as a screen in front of it.

Wykeham was buried, as directed in his will, in the chantry chapel, which he had built during his lifetime under an arch about half-way down the nave on the south side. This chapel stood on the site of an altar dedicated to the Virgin, Wykeham's especial patroness. He had always been accustomed to attend the mass at this chapel as a boy,—for the bishop was not only a native of Hampshire, but had been educated in the town, and presumably at the convent school. The chapel stands 'in that part of the cross precisely which corresponded with the pierced side of the Saviour.' The bishop's monument with his effigy occupies the west part of the chapel, space being left at the east end for an altar.

Farther east is Bishop Edington's chapel and tomb, and on the opposite side of the nave the monument of George Morley, bishop from 1662–84, the repairer and almost the rebuilder of Farnham Castle, which had been much damaged during the Civil War.

Wykeham's great successors, Cardinal Beaufort and William of Waynflete, are buried in splendid chapels

erected by themselves in the retrochoir. Neither did any great work at the cathedral other than continuing the transformation of the nave. Beaufort was a great benefactor to the hospital of St. Cross, founded by Bishop Henry of Blois in the twelfth century, and indeed he almost rebuilt it. Waynflete is chiefly remembered for his friendship with Henry VI and as the founder of Magdalene College, Oxford.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century the splendid reredos was made. There seems to be no record of the erection; neither the name of a donor nor the date are known. There are several others somewhat like it, as for instance that at Christchurch.

The next benefactor to the cathedral church was Richard Fox, bishop from 1500 till 1528 and co-founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The east window is his work, and the old glass contains his arms. He also completed the rebuilding of the aisles and central vault of the presbytery. His, too, are the stone screens which divide the presbytery from the aisles. These show that curious mixture of late English Gothic and early Italian Renaissance which is characteristic of the first part of the sixteenth century. On the top of the screens are six coffers of the same period, and purely Italian in style. They enclose lead sarcophagi containing the bones of Saxon kings and bishops. The remains have, however, been disturbed more than once, so that the inscriptions on the chests must not now be taken as literally accurate. At Ely the bones of early saints were deposited under the stalls after the building of the Octagon.

Fox is buried in his elaborate chantry chapel immediately behind the great reredos. The centre of this space, which now has rather a wrecked appearance, was occupied by the shrines of Saint Swithun and other saints. On the north side is the chantry chapel and

tomb of Bishop Gardiner, who succeeded Fox after Wolsey had held the see for a single year. The enclosure presents the same mixture of English and Italian details as Fox's screens.

The Lady chapel was lengthened and covered with a rich vault late in the fifteenth century by Prior Hunton (1470-98), and his successor, Silkstede (1498-1524), finished the work. The rebuses of both priors are carved in stone and will be easily recognized. This part of the church contains very rich and beautiful woodwork of a late date, and in the Lady chapel is preserved a chair which is said to have been used by Queen Mary on the occasion of her marriage, which took place in this chapel.

The most important work since the Reformation was the great stone screen of the Corinthian order built across the nave under the west arch of the tower—and consequently one bay farther east than the medieval screen. It was designed by Inigo Jones, and perhaps dates from the episcopate of Bishop Andrews (1618-26). It was removed in 1840, when its place was taken by a screen of oak; this again was replaced by another in 1875. The central part of Inigo Jones's screen has now been placed in the Museum of Archæology and of Ethnology at Cambridge.

WORCESTER

THE diocese of Worcester was one of those formed in the latter part of the seventh century out of the vast diocese of Lichfield in accordance with the plans of Archbishop Theodore. The church was originally served by secular clergy, but these were replaced by Benedictine monks in the latter half of the tenth century by Bishop Oswald (961-92).

Oswald was the successor of Dunstan, and had a full share of the Dunstan's zeal for monachism and celibacy. But he proceeded by less violent methods. He simply omitted to occupy his throne in the cathedral church of Saint Peter and attended the services in the monastic church of the Virgin Mary. This church, according to some, was an old foundation, while others say that he himself founded it as a rival to the cathedral. He was a popular preacher, and the folk flocked to Saint Mary's to hear his sermons and to receive his blessing. The old canons, many of whom were married, saw their church deserted. The dean became a monk, and was soon promoted to be prior. His example seems to have been followed by others. Those who were most opposed to the bishop's proceedings received from him preferments in distant parts ; others he won over to his side, and he filled vacancies with those men on whose support he could depend. Hence a few years after his consecration it was resolved in chapter with but little opposition that the keys of the cathedral and all its possession should be handed over to the convent.



WORCESTER. THE CHAPEL OF PRINCE ARTHUR

The bishop removed his cathedra or throne to the monastic church, which thus formally became the cathedral. In 972 Oswald became Archbishop of York, but he retained the bishopric of Worcester and continued to live there. He is said to have been the means of establishing monks at Ely, St. Albans, and Benfleet. He also founded a monastery at Ramsey in Huntingdonshire and another at Winchcombe.

The relative positions of the two rival churches seem uncertain, but it is probable that they were not far apart. It is said that after the final establishment of Saint Mary's as the cathedral, Oswald found the church too small, and built a new one in the churchyard of the deserted Saint Peter's. This church stood till it was rebuilt by Bishop Wulfstan at the end of the eleventh century.

Wulfstan, the second bishop of the name, came of a devout family. His father and mother both entered the cloister late in life, and he, after an education at Peterborough, became a monk at Worcester, and eventually prior. In 1062 he was consecrated bishop of the diocese. While he was yet a monk the place witnessed a scene of tumult, of which evidence remains to this day. There are still preserved at Worcester the old west doors of Oswald's church, doors which were originally, and perhaps still are, covered with the skins of Danes. Hardicanute had demanded the Danegeld, which had been remitted by Canute. The collectors were resisted, they fled to the cathedral and took refuge in the tower, were dragged out and killed. It may be the skins of these unfortunate men that were stretched upon the doors. In any case, a few months later a Danish force appeared; the people fled and took refuge on an island in the Severn, where they fortified themselves. The Danes ravaged and sacked the town for five days, and left the cathedral in ruins. The doors seem

to have escaped and to have been reused in the new church.

It is always difficult to guess what the chroniclers mean by the destruction of a building, and at Worcester, in spite of the Danes, Oswald's church continued in use. Perhaps the roofs had been burnt without doing great damage to the masonry. Certainly Wulfstan, who was one of the junior brethren when the monks fled from the Danes in 1040, considered that the church which he took down in 1084 was Saint Oswald's, for we are told that he wept over it, saying that he was destroying the work of a better man than himself.

Of Wulfstan's church, notwithstanding that so little which is at first sight of Norman character appears above-ground, we have sufficient knowledge to make an almost complete reconstruction. There are remains of his three west doors and of his great piers, much of his side walls and of his transepts, while the crypt under his presbytery is almost complete. This crypt of course gives the plan of the presbytery, while the existence of other features has been proved by excavation or deduced from ancient writings. On the west respond of the north arcade of the choir there are sufficient remains to give the height of the Norman arcade and triforium.

The church consisted then of a short presbytery, of three bays, and an apse. The aisle was carried round the apse, and from this it is assumed apsidal chapels projected, after the fashion of Bury, Norwich, Gloucester, and Canterbury. The aisles were flanked by chapels projecting from the transepts, such as we find in those churches; but instead of being like them mere apses, those at Worcester were long parallelograms terminating in apses. These chapels were important; they had upper stories at the level of the triforium, and the southern chapel at least had also a crypt. The rich arches between them and the transept are still

to be seen. We know also that a central tower was built by Wulfstan, or not long after his time ; for it fell within a century of the beginning of the work. The nave is shown by the character of the remains to have consisted of the same number of bays as at present. The monks' choir was in the two first bays of the nave and perhaps extended into the crossing.

Wulfstan began the church in 1084, and was able to dedicate the crypt in 1089 'in honour of the Mother of God and the day of Holy Pentecost.' He died in 1095. He had increased the number of monks, which at his coming was little over twelve, by more than fifty, and for their maintenance added to the property of the monastery. No doubt some of the Norman work in the monastic buildings is also his. As to the progress of the work in the church, we are left to conjecture. The modern historians do not mention any record of the consecration of the choir. This probably took place somewhat early in the twelfth century, and the work would then gradually proceed westwards. Probably the central tower and two eastern bays of the nave were built before 1150, and the two western bays of the nave about 1175. These two bays are of the Transitional period, though they have a good deal more Norman feeling than Gothic. The progress would probably have been quicker but for the serious misfortunes which not only interrupted the new building but called for the repair of parts not long finished. Hence the consecration of the completed church did not take place till 1218.

The century and a quarter following the death of Wulfstan was a disastrous period for Worcester. In 1113, the city, the cathedral, and the castle were destroyed or much injured by fire. In 1175, the central tower fell. In 1189, another fire destroyed, it is said, nearly the whole of the city, but spared the cathedral.

In 1202, the church and conventual buildings again suffered from fire. In 1221, but three years after the consecration, a great storm blew down 'the two lesser towers.' These, it is conjectured, flanked the choir and may have injured it in their fall, and thus may have suggested its rebuilding.

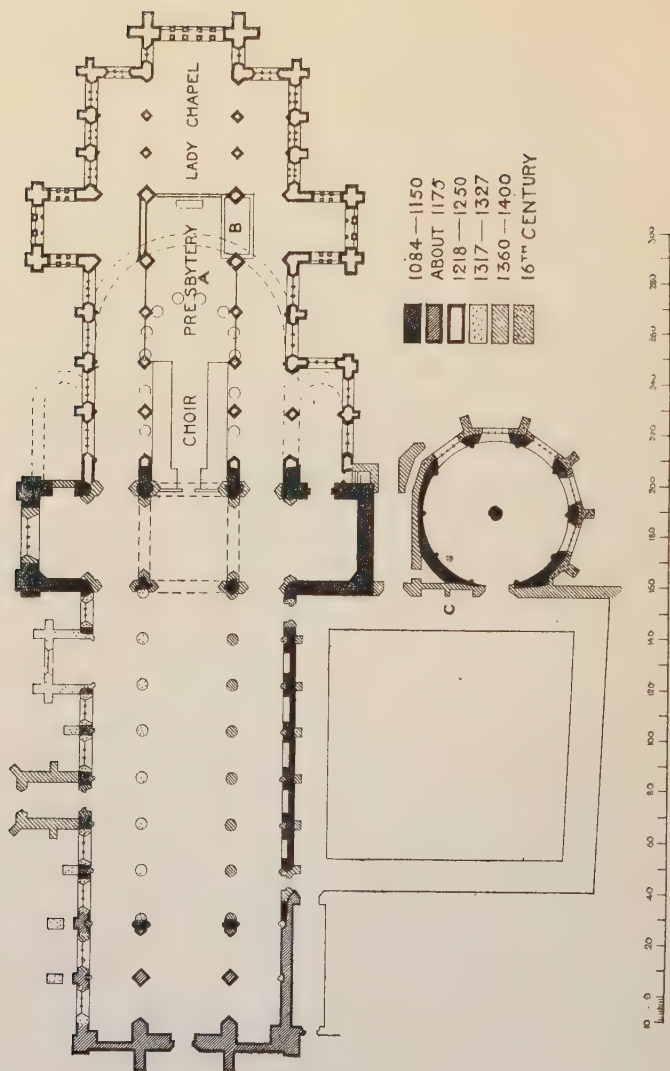
But no suggestion was required. This was the age of extending the short Norman presbyteries eastwards to twice their length. And at Worcester, moreover, other things not unimportant had been happening. In 1201, great virtue had begun to issue forth from the relics of the blessed Wulfstan, so that many sick folk were healed at his tomb. The Pope issued a commission to the Archbishop of Canterbury and others to hold an inquiry at Worcester as to these reported miracles. They gave a favourable verdict, which certain of the monks carried off with all speed to the Pope, and in the following year Wulfstan was canonized. The offerings, which had been large before, now, no doubt, greatly increased. Soon after this King John did his devotions before the shrine giving largely towards the repair of the buildings, and hither he was brought for burial in 1216. Two years later the church was dedicated in honour of 'Mary, the Holy Mother of God, of Saint Peter, and of the holy confessors Oswald and Wlstan : that is to say, the great altar in honour of Saint Mary and Saint Oswald ; the medium altar in honour of Saint Peter and Saint Wlstan.' Now came the young Henry III and many great nobles both ecclesiastic and lay. After the consecration, the relics of Saint Wulfstan were translated to their shrine near the high altar before which lay King John. Thus was Wulfstan's church at last completed.

The Worcester treasury, therefore, began to fill apace, and before the completion of the west end the monks must already have turned their thoughts to-

wards the enlargement of the presbytery. A disagreement between the bishop and the convent as to whom the offerings made at the shrine of Saint Wulfstan belonged was adjusted by an agreement to divide them, and each party appointed clerks to keep an account of the takings. This bishop was William de Blois, a foreigner, against whose nomination in 1218 the monks had protested. Hence, although he continued to rule over the diocese till 1236, it is probable that the new work was due less to his initiative than to that of the monks.

In this rebuilding and extension of the presbytery, the medieval builders, as in all their schemes, sought to carry out their work in such a way as to interfere as little as possible with the services of the church. Their method at Worcester has been demonstrated by Professor Willis in his usual masterly fashion. The general idea was to carry the new part as far as possible towards completion before breaking into the existing Norman presbytery. Slight variations in some of the details show that the first section of the work included the eastern transepts and the lower part of the first bay to the west of them. All except the extreme western part of this could be built to a considerable height without disturbing any part of the old church except the two projecting side chapels—if such there were. At a somewhat later stage it would be necessary to take down the wall of the apse, and probably also its arches. The remaining arches could then be built, and the whole of the new part could be roofed and vaulted.

Meanwhile, preparations could be made for the rebuilding of the Norman presbytery. The arches of the aisles were to be wider than those of Wulfstan's building, and so the columns would not be in the same position, and would not stand over the columns in the



WORCESTER. A tomb of King John. B chapel of Prince Arthur.

crypt. Some of the crypt arches, therefore, had to be built up in order to strengthen them, and this work could be proceeded with before the abandonment of the church above. Finally, the presbytery of Wulfstan was wholly taken down and the work of the east end was continued up to the central tower. Wulfstan's design even then was not entirely obliterated, for the western respond of his arcade was left on the north side, and gives us the height of the two lower storeys.

The floor of this western part of the presbytery had to be kept at the high level of the old floor because of the crypt below it. But the new east transept and all the work to the east of it forming the Lady chapel has no crypt, and the floor was accordingly made 3 feet 6 inches lower. The effect of the increased height thus obtained is enhanced by the piers being much closer together. The noble proportions thus produced are immediately appreciated. The walls of the transepts and of the aisles of the Lady chapel are enriched with an arcade which has admirable figure sculpture. The treatment of the transept windows is very striking, and no doubt would be still more so were the work entirely medieval. But the whole building has undergone severe restoration. In these windows tracery had been inserted at a later time, and many others had been replaced by large windows with Perpendicular tracery in the fifteenth century. These have all been removed, and the east window, pinnacles, and other features, are entirely new. The inside has also been embellished with modern decorations.

When the work was finished, probably about 1250, the altar was moved eastwards to somewhere about its present place. The monument of King John and the shrines of Saint Oswald and Saint Wulfstan were also moved so as to occupy the same relative positions as formerly. King John, we are expressly told, was

buried between the saints, thereby fulfilling, as the chroniclers point out, a prophecy of Merlin. The effigy—the earliest effigy of a sovereign in the country—was made soon after the King's death. It was formerly part gilt and part coloured, but was uniformly covered with gold in the last century. The coffin was opened in 1797, and some of the remains were found. It is hardly to be doubted, says a good authority, that the body of the King had been arrayed in the same apparel as that exhibited on his effigy. The tomb on which the figure now rests is of the sixteenth century.

Under the arch of the next bay is the chantry chapel and tomb of Prince Arthur, eldest son of King Henry VII. He died at Ludlow Castle in 1502, and was brought here for burial. The chapel is a rich piece of work, eminently characteristic of its period. It is enclosed by pierced screen-work and is covered by an elaborate vault. A simple tomb without effigy occupies the west end, leaving room for the altar and celebrant to the east. The east end is covered with tabernacle work forming a reredos ; the figures remain in the niches sadly mutilated, but the wonder is that they have been suffered to remain at all.

On the floor of the Lady chapel are the effigies of Bishop William de Blois (1218-36), who laid the foundation of the new work, and of Bishop Walter de Cantilupe (1237-66), who consecrated it. Cantilupe was the uncle of Saint Thomas de Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford. He was himself a man of strong character, offered a bold resistance to papal extortion, and was a steady adherent of Simon de Montfort.

The new presbytery and Lady chapel were probably consecrated about 1250. For about seventy years from that date no important work was done. The transepts, nave, and aisles were still early Norman. But about 1320 the work of gradually reconstructing

these parts was begun, and continued with little interruption till near the end of the century. The rebuilding of the north side of the nave and the north aisle is attributed to Bishop Thomas Cobham (1317-27), an excellent man who, some years before he became Bishop of Worcester, had been chosen archbishop by the monks of Canterbury, but had been set aside by the King. He died in 1327, and was buried in the aisle which he had built.

It was probably intended to proceed immediately with the rebuilding of the south aisle and then to put a stone vault over the nave. Preparations had been made for this in rebuilding the north wall of the nave : solid springers for the vault were actually built. This unfinished appearance would be ugly, and the contrast between the two sides of the nave—the one early Norman and the other advanced Decorated—would not be pleasing. But it seems that the south side was not begun till after 1350, and that then the work proceeded languidly. On this side as on the north the low and massive Norman proportions are in the main retained in the new work, as will be seen by comparing it with the two Transitional bays at the west end and with the Norman remains on the north-west respond of the choir. But in their details the two sides of the nave are remarkably different. Cobham had lived in the halcyon days of Gothic art ; the south side already shows symptoms of decline.

The general scheme of the three storeys of the nave is the same as that on the north side, which had followed the lines of the presbytery, but the design for the vault was changed. It was decided to introduce an additional rib between the diagonal rib and the wall. The solid springers were built, accordingly, with seven ribs : one transverse, two diagonals, two intermediates, two wall ribs. But in the springers built by Bishop Cobham

provision had been made for five ribs only; intermediates had not been intended. The difficulty was got over with all the easy confidence of the medieval builders. At the level where the new work began on the north side a small ogee arch was made, springing from the diagonal and wall ribs, and from the apex of this arch the extra rib springs.

This vault is said to have been constructed by Bishop Henry Wakefield (1375-95), Treasurer of England. He had already vaulted the two western bays. The general scheme of these is the same as that of the later work, but the details of construction are somewhat different. Thus in the earlier vault the light shell filling the spandrels rests on the back of the ribs, while in the later vault it is fitted into a rebate or notch on each side of the rib. Wakefield was buried under the earlier vault.

Although the triforium of the nave, like that of the presbytery, is a mere wall passage, the arcade in front of it retains the importance given to it in former times. This arcade and the clerestory are both quite early in character. The harmony and unity thus obtained throughout the church are very telling. In the aisles, which are of less importance in the general effect, there was not a like reason for symmetry; the windows were made in the style which was in vogue at the time they were built: in the north aisle with Geometrical tracery, and in the south with Flowing.

While the south aisle was being rebuilt the transepts and central piers were remodelled. The tower and its vault are thought to have been finished about 1376. Bishop Wakefield built the north porch about 1386, and blocked up the west door. The present west door and the window above are quite modern.

The present position of the choir dates from the time of the Reformation. The stalls were formerly

under the tower, and no doubt extended into the nave. They were made in 1379, and were moved into the old presbytery in 1556. Canopies were added a good deal later—possibly as late as the eighteenth century—but have been ‘restored’ away.

Of the conventual buildings there are but slight remains, with the exception of the cloister and chapter-house. The cloister is small. It was built in place of the Norman cloister about 1370. On three sides the outer wall has a recess in each bay, apparently for the carrels or studies of the monks. In the west wall near the entrance to the dining-hall there are the lavatory basins in two large recesses; in the east wall there are two somewhat similar recesses, which contained the original monastic library, of which more anon.

The buildings that surrounded the cloister were mostly of the Norman period: to the south the frater or refectory, and to the west the dormitory and the house of the sub-prior; to the east the chapter-house and a ‘slype’ or passage leading from the cloister. The slype took you to the prior’s house, which stood east of the chapter-house, and to the monks’ cemetery, a small plot to the south and east of the Lady chapel. The chapter-house is early Norman, but later than Wulfstan. In plan it is a circle: a form very unusual in Norman chapter-houses. It has a plain round column in the middle, from which springs simple stone vaulting. The inner face of the wall has an arcade of intersecting arches, above which are the windows; these date from the early part of the sixteenth century, when the whole of the outside was cased.

The monastic library appears to have been, from early times, in the long room over the south aisle of the nave. It was removed some time since the dissolution of the monastery to the chapter-house, but has now been restored to its former home. Here the books

would be secured by chains. The recesses in the cloister, though they probably contained originally the whole library, most likely became in later times, when books increased, receptacles for such as might be borrowed from the principal library; here the brethren could conveniently leave them as they went into the church, and fetch them again as they came out.

There was yet another library at Worcester. In 1464, Bishop Carpenter (1444-76), formerly Chancellor of the University of Oxford, built and endowed a library in connexion with the Charnel-house chapel on the north side of the cathedral, together with a house for the keeper. The bishop drew up careful rules for the safe keeping of the books, and he laid down clearly the duties of the keeper, who was to say mass daily and to deliver a public lecture once a week.

The chapel with which this library had been connected had been founded by Bishop William de Blois (1218-36) between the palace and the cathedral. He built below it a crypt, in which were to be deposited human bones—no doubt such as were disturbed in digging the foundations of the chapel and subsequently in making new graves; for it is probable there was a public cemetery on this side of the church from the earliest times.¹ From this bone-house the whole building was commonly called the *carnaria*. The chapel was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and Saint Thomas. Bishop Cantilupe, the successor of de Blois, endowed four chaplains, who lived together in a house at the west end of the chapel. Henry VIII, we are told, gave the establishment a dean and chapter; he probably intended to convert the college into a school, and indeed it is quite possible that it had developed into some sort of school before his time. But whether or no, a school existed there in later times; this was

¹ Compare Hereford.

ultimately removed to the old refectory, and the *carnaria* buildings have now entirely disappeared, although the crypt still remains below-ground. This interesting little college may be compared with the very similar foundation of 1316 at Norwich, which, more fortunate than Worcester, has preserved its buildings almost intact.

Worcester has indeed been one of the most unlucky of our cathedrals. The church was terribly abused by the Puritans, and especially by the Roundhead soldiers, and it has suffered much from over-restoration and redecoration, while many of the surrounding buildings have been wholly swept away. The chief of those on the south side have been already mentioned. To the west of the cathedral church was the monastic infirmary. Against the north choir and aisle was the sacrist's lodging, on the site of the Norman chapel, commanding a view into the church by an oriel window. Immediately to the north of this stood the Preaching Cross, the stone pulpit of which is now preserved in the presbytery. But the most remarkable building must have been the great bell tower, standing to the north-east of the east transept. It is described as "an octagon 61 feet across, the thickest part of the wall 10 feet thick; the height of the stonework 60 feet (equal to the battlement of the church). On the Base stood a leaden Spire 50 yards high, and the Cock level to that of St. Andrews, but St. Andrews standing on the lower ground, is somewhat higher. The leaden spire was in height from the ground 70 yards, and St. Andrews 77."

ELY

ETHELDREDA, daughter of Anna, the Christian King of East Anglia, was twice married. But she had from girlhood embraced the idea of a religious life; both marriages were merely formal, and she never lived with either husband. Her first husband, an East Anglian prince, had given her as dowry the Isle of Ely. He died a few years later, and Etheldreda was married a second time, again against her will, to Ecgfrid, son of Oswy, King of Northumbria. He also acceded to her wish to live alone, and was persuaded by Archbishop Wilfrid to agree to a divorce. But on succeeding to his father's kingdom he seems to have changed his mind and was for carrying off Etheldreda by force. She fled south to her native county, and took up her abode on the property she had received from her first husband at Ely. Here in 673 she founded a religious house for nuns and, according to one early authority, for monks also. Not improbably it was one of those double houses for men and women which were then in fashion, over which the abbess, not the abbot, was supreme. Etheldreda herself became first abbess, being installed by her friend and protector Wilfrid. She ruled but six years, dying of the plague in 679.

For two hundred years the lonely house was undisturbed, completely isolated from the world. In those days 'The Isle' was an island in fact and not merely in name. It rose to a comparatively high elevation, form-



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ing a tableland of irregular shape with an area of some thirty square miles. Round it lay the Fen, stretching to the farthest horizon on every side, and forming an impassable barrier to most aggressors. Unfortunately, it was no barrier to the Danes. They appeared in 870, and of course can have found no difficulty in navigating the still waters that lay round the monastery. "Deliver us, O Lord, from the frenzy of the Northmen," is said to have been a suffrage of an Ely litany. The place was sacked and burnt, and all, without distinction, were slain. The monastery lay ruined and deserted for a century. It was refounded in 970 as a Benedictine monastery for men by the reformer Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester. He had formerly been Abbot of Abingdon, almost the only place where the true monastic life survived at that time, and he had refounded Peterborough a few years before. The church was consecrated by Dunstan, and Brithnoth was installed as first abbot.

The convent then had peace again and enjoyed the protection of kings and other great personages. One of Canute's visits is commemorated in the well-known ballad beginning—

Merie sungen the muneches binnan Ely
Tha Cnut ching reu ther-by.
Roweth, cnites, nœr the lant
And hear we thes muneches sang.

Merrily sang the monks at Ely
When Cnut the King rowed thereby.
"Row, knights, nearer to the land,
And hear we these monks sing."

Edward the Confessor was as a boy trained in the Ely cloister, and in later life added to its possessions.

After the Conquest, as every schoolboy knows, Ely offered a stubborn resistance to William under the leadership of Hereward the Wake. In the end the monks made their submission against the will of Hereward, and

henceforth the history of Ely is the history of the buildings. The city was never to be more than a large village, and the outer world was still to be kept at a distance by the natural barrier of the Fen. It was not, indeed, until the period of railways that Ely became really accessible, and there is a well-known and true story of a Norfolk squire who, during the scare of an invasion by Napoleon, kept his coach and horses constantly ready for flight to Ely, feeling confident that though the monster might cross the Channel he could never cross the Fen. It must be remembered that many hundred miles of country could, and can still, be flooded in a few hours by merely stopping the pumps.

The actual history of the fabric begins with the appointment in 1081 of Abbot Simeon, Prior of Winchester and a brother of Walkelin, bishop of that diocese and a kinsman of the Conqueror. Though already ninety years of age, he immediately set about the rebuilding of the church. How far the work proceeded during the ten years of his rule we do not know, but of course the grand scale of the building must be due to him, and no doubt he decided the exact length of the whole building, as well as dictated the general design of the part which he actually began. That he did more is improbable. If he did make a plan of the whole it seems certain that that plan was not followed. The east end is thought to have been altered while the work was in progress; the ends of the great transept certainly were; and the west transept, both in plan and in elevation, must certainly have been not merely built but also designed by a different hand.

Simeon of course began with the presbytery and choir, and his work probably included the lower parts of the transept and of the central tower. In order to make room for the new walls, it was necessary to remove some of the old shrines, which shows that the new

Norman building occupied the site of the Saxon church. Of that church not a fragment now remains. The only object that can possibly claim to be of Saxon age is the stump of a cross which stands in the south aisle of the nave. The pedestal bears the following inscription :—

LUCEM TUAM OVINO : DA DEUS ET REQUIE : AMEN

“Grant, O God, to Ovin Thy light and rest. Amen.” Ovin we know to have been the name of Saint Etheldreda’s steward, and we like to think that the Ovin here commemorated is the same person. Unfortunately, the cross does not properly belong to Ely, having been recently brought for preservation from Haddenham, a few miles distant, where it was being used as a mounting block.

To return to the history of the church. The choir was completed by Simeon’s immediate successor, Richard, tenth and last abbot. The remains of the foundress were translated on the 17th of October 1106, twenty-five years after Simeon began his work, to a position east of the new high altar. The section of the work now completed included, no doubt, the first bay of the nave, for thus far the choir of the monks extended. But the nave was continued slowly westwards. The west tower and transept and a large porch still farther west seem to have been completed in the last few years of the twelfth century, about a hundred and ten years after the new choir was begun.

The church as it then stood was in several respects a very remarkable building. It was cruciform, of course, but it had not only a central tower, but a large single western tower, and in this respect it was unique. The eastern arm was somewhat short, as was commonly the case in our Norman churches. It is not very clear how it was terminated. The foundations of an apse have been uncovered, but they seem to show that the end was

made square at a very early date, possibly even before the work was finished. The aisles also seem to have been square ended.

The great transept also shows an unusual arrangement and an early change in plan, made, perhaps, like the change in the east end, while the building was actually in progress. It was originally intended to carry the aisle and triforium across the ends of the two transepts; the traces of this were at one time clear, but have been gradually smoothed away. The idea was abandoned, or the work was altered and galleries of somewhat unusual form were built instead, in order to afford a passage-way from one side of the transept to the other at the triforium level. The transepts have eastern and western aisles but the eastern aisles are divided up by cross walls to form a series of chapels.

The *pulpitum*, or double stone screen supporting the rood loft and separating the monks' choir from the nave, was destroyed in the eighteenth century. Its position can easily be discovered by the cleanness of the masonry of the nave piers where the screens abutted against them, and by the niches for statues, which indicate the position of the altar against the screen in each aisle. There are distinct remains of the colouring with which this part of the church was originally decorated. Deprived of this and of all furniture and accessories, the nave, though very grand, looks somewhat cold and empty.

The similarity between Abbot Simeon's work and that of his brother Walkelin of Winchester is remarkable. But Walkelin's rebuilding of Winchester had been going on for two years before Simeon resigned the post of prior to accept that of Abbot of Ely; he must therefore have been fully conversant with the plans and general scheme. Although the east ends were not exactly alike, each had a central apse, while the ends



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of the aisles were square. The aisles were continued across the ends of the transepts in both churches, and in these two churches only. Winchester, like Ely, seems to have had a western as well as a central tower ; and finally, there is a strong likeness in the design of the bay of the two churches.

The design of the nave has the characteristic—and one may say the fault—so general in work of this period : the three stories of the building are of practically equal height. The roof is probably of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, but is concealed by an elaborately painted modern ceiling.

The church was entered from the cloister by two rich Norman doorways. The westernmost, now called the prior's door, has in the tympanum a sculpture of Our Lord enthroned surrounded by a *vesica piscis* supported by angels. The sculpture is interesting, of course, but is not great. The eastern doorway is trefoil-headed and is better. To the right of this there is another Norman doorway, now blocked, which led into the transept—a very unusual position. To the left of it is the Early English (thirteenth century) *armarium* or book recess ; formerly a very beautiful piece of work, but now sadly mutilated. It takes the place of a Norman *armarium* of which there are slight remains visible in the vestry. The trefoil-headed doorway formed the common entrance to the monks' choir, and as they passed in to attend the Offices they left here the books which they had been studying in the cloister.

With the exception of the two doorways just described, the nave and great transept are plain. The west tower and transept are very different in character. Though not at all more refined, the work changes abruptly from extreme severity to the greatest richness. Innumerable arcades of every variety of design cover the walls inside and out. The present porch, which is a later

work, must have been preceded by one contemporary with the tower, because the necessary abutment for the north and south arches of the tower could not well have been provided in any other way. An apse projected from the east wall of each wing of the west transept ; these would be in harmony with the great apse of the choir, and may perhaps be considered as evidence that the east end was at this date apsidal. At each angle of the transept is a polygonal turret of beautiful design. The work seems to have been finished at quite the close of the twelfth century.

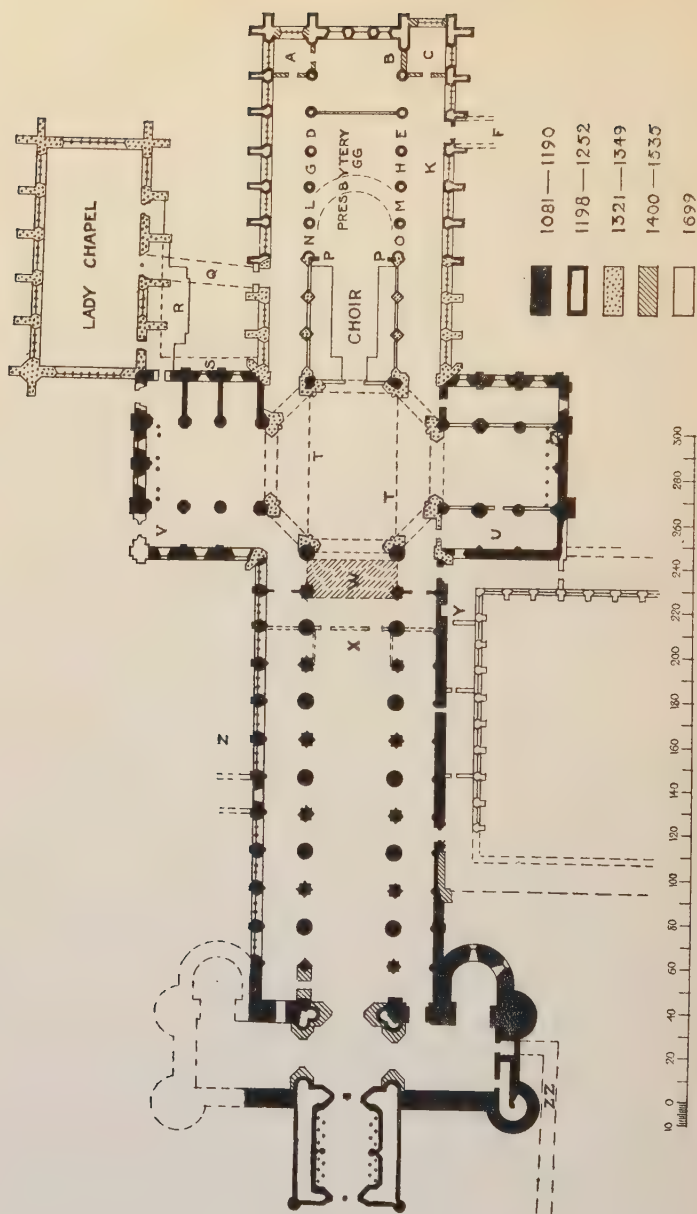
Even in its present condition, with only one wing of the transept remaining, the western portion is far the most impressive part of the cathedral. The inside, with its strong contrasts of light and shade and its delicate gradations, is not less beautiful than the outside. There is no record of the fall of the north wing, and it has been considered doubtful if it was ever built ; but there are on the north wall of the tower marks showing not only where the transept roof abutted, but that an alteration in the pitch of the roof was made at some later time. All that we know with certainty is that the fall was before the close of the fifteenth century, for a buttress of that period was built against the tower to afford it the support which had formerly been given by the transept walls.

Massive as it appears at first sight, the church is not really very strong, and a good deal of it has failed from time to time. We have just seen that the north-west transept has disappeared. The apse of the south-west transept also fell at some unknown time, and was rebuilt in the nineteenth century. The piers of the west tower were strengthened with a casing in the fifteenth century, and strong arches were built under the beautiful original arches. The central tower fell in the fourteenth century, crushing the Norman presbytery. Lastly, in

1699, a corner of the north-east transept fell, and was rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren in his own healthy, natural manner. Sir Christopher was a nephew of a former bishop, Matthew Wren (1638-67).

The upper storeys of the west transept and west tower show the transitional stage through which English architecture was passing in the last quarter of the twelfth century. The general effect is Norman, but arches are pointed and the details begin to suggest Gothic. The present grand height of the tower and its striking outline are due to the addition of a stage about 64 feet high in the latter half of the fourteenth century. This stage is octagonal, with a large window on each of the cardinal faces, while the other sides are flanked by octagonal turrets. This bold addition gives a commanding majesty to the west tower. The octagonal tower was formerly crowned with one of those delicate lead spires which were characteristic of the period, but it has been since removed, to the structural though scarcely to the æsthetic advantage of the tower.

A very few years after the completion of the original part of the west tower, the west porch was remodelled entirely in a new style by Bishop Eustace (1198-1215). This building, called for some reason which has never been quite fully explained 'the Galilee,' is interesting and puzzling both in its arrangement and in its architecture. There is an upper storey, now roofless, over the porch, but there is no ordinary means of access to it. It may be questioned if it was ever used. High walls were required as buttresses to the tower, and a sham upper story may be the architect's device for providing the necessary abutment. The interior of the porch proper is singularly beautiful; it is vaulted in two bays, and the side walls have most exquisite arcading. The inner doorway is a piece of modern design overloaded with ornament.



ELY. A chantry chapel of Bishop Alcock (1500). B monument of Cardinal Luxemburg (1443). C chantry chapel of Bishop West (1534). D monument of Bishop Northwold (1259). E of Bishop Holtham (1337). F site of vestry. G supposed remains of the shrine of Saint Etheldreda. GG original site of the shrine. H monument of John Tiptofte, Earl of Worcester, and wives (1470). K site of thirteenth century Lady chapel. L monument of Bishop Kilkenny (1256). M of Bishop Barnet (1374). N monument and chantry chapel of Bishop Redman (1505). O monument of Bishop de Louth or de Luda (1298). P Norman shafts. Q passage from choir aisle to Lady chapel, destroyed. R modern vestries. S upper passage to Lady chapel, destroyed. T former position of stalls. U vestry. V Wren's doorway. W position of *pulpitum*. X former position of nave altar. Y *armarium*, or book cupboard. Z site of destroyed church of the Holy Cross. Z, Z position of raised passage from palace, destroyed.

The outside of the building is not so successful. There is a monotonous repetition of wall arcades of similar design and not the best detail, which contrasts unfavourably with the variety of the transept. At the angles are clusters of columns which the architect did not quite know what to do with when he got to the top and had to finish them off. Columns used in this way have always failed, especially in Gothic architecture. The façade is finished with battlements of later date. The outer doorway shows a curious mixture of early and late detail; the spandrels over the outer arch are much earlier in character than the tracery which fills the space between the arch and the sub-arches. The whole building has probably been tampered with more than once.

One of the most remarkable things about the porch is its contrast with the transept. The two are separated by only about twenty years, and the one is pure Norman in feeling and almost pure Norman in detail, while the other is absolute, and in some respects advanced Gothic.

The next great building period follows hard upon this. About 1230, Hugh de Northwold (1229-54), eighth bishop, began to rebuild the presbytery on a much larger scale. He took down two bays (or the apse and one bay) of the Norman work, and built the present beautiful six easternmost bays. It must be remembered that in doing so he left the four western bays of the Norman work standing. He could therefore scarcely avoid following the Norman proportions in the main, especially in the heights of the three storeys, ground arcade, triforium, and clerestory. Consequently the lowest arcade is low as compared with some work of this period elsewhere, being indeed not much higher than the triforium and clerestory.

Northwold divided his east end into two storeys internally. The upper storey ranges with the clerestory, and is pierced by five lancets in harmony with

the triple lancets of the clerestory. The lower division corresponds to the triforium and the main arcade, and has three immense lancets, very wide and reaching almost to the floor. The result is not entirely happy. Externally there is a third range of windows in the gable above the vaulting. Here the effect is more fortunate, partly owing to the play of light and shade and to the greater effectiveness of the detail ; the result is entirely beautiful. The work was finished in 1252, and the whole church was dedicated in the presence of King Henry III, in honour of Saint Mary, Saint Peter, and Saint Etheldreda.

The details of this work are for the most part quite perfect. The enrichments are used with restraint, the mouldings combine refinement with boldness, the carved foliage is rich yet strong. Only here and there may the decoration be said to be luxuriant. To mention an instance : the corbels of the vaulting shafts of the fifth and sixth bays from the east, with their heavy masses of foliage, should be compared with those farther east, which have the refined perfection of the best Greek work.

Northwold's work has suffered severely. Externally there is no bay that has not been materially altered, though there is no difficulty in reconstructing a complete bay from the various portions. The east ends of the aisles have later windows and pinnacles ; the centre gable has lost its pinnacles, and one of them has been rebuilt in a coarse manner in the nineteenth century. All the imagery has gone.

To appreciate Northwold's presbytery justly it should be compared with the three bays to the west of it, in which the choir stalls are now placed. This work is about a century later than Northwold's, and was governed by the same considerations as regards proportions. It took the place of Norman work, and it had to range with Northwold's work just as his had had to range with the Norman. The quiet dignity of the

eastern part with its reserve of strength contrasts remarkably with the weak restlessness of this later work. As to Northwold's personal character, it entirely accorded with the noble qualities of his architecture.

Northwold's monument, a grand effigy in Purbeck marble, is under an arch on the north side of the presbytery immediately to the north of the altar. Though of Purbeck marble, it is most richly decorated. The foot-rest is carved with an interesting picture of the martyrdom of Saint Edmund. The bishop had formerly been abbot of St. Edmunds' Monastery at Bury. Near by is a very similar memorial to Bishop Kilkeny (1255-56), his successor. This is even better in its entire freedom from luxuriance. The next bishop, Hugh de Balsham (1257-86), the founder of Peterhouse, the first Cambridge college, lies at the step from the choir to the presbytery.

In the aisle near Northwold's monument there is preserved the stone arm of an ancient chair or bench. It is of the thirteenth century, and therefore may well be Northwold's work, especially as it is vigorously carved with the figure of a wolf holding a man's head between the paws. The allusion is to the story of the wolf defending the head of the martyred Edmund till his friends came to bury it.

We have now reached the period of the greatest building activity at Ely since its reconstruction in Norman days. This period saw the invention and completion of the famous central lantern, the rebuilding of the three western bays of the presbytery, and the building of a new Lady chapel, besides extensive works on the monastic buildings, including the beautiful hall called the Fair Hall, the reconstruction of the large and stately hall now converted into the deanery, and the building of the exquisite little chapel called after its founder, Prior Crauden's Chapel.

In 1322, on the night of the 12th of February, the great central tower fell. Its insecure state was known, and the Convent was not unprepared for the disaster. No time seems to have been lost in clearing away the vast mass of fallen stone and timber and in preparing for the reconstruction. At that time the office of prior was filled by the much-loved John de Crauden, and that of sacrist and sub-prior by Alan de Walsingham, a man who rightly or wrongly has always been credited with the design of the new work.

When the débris of the tower and its piers was cleared away there would be left in the centre of the church a large clear space surrounded by eight columns. It may have been this which suggested to Walsingham the striking plan which he adopted in the rebuilding. He built a very light low tower, octagonal in plan, and rising only just above the ridge of the nave roof. On this he constructed a lantern of timber, also octagonal, bracketed out from the angles of the stone octagon. He thus very much reduced the total weight upon the arches and piers, and at the same time distributed the weight over eight instead of four piers. The stone octagon measures almost 75 feet across; the diameter of the timber is only 30 feet. The lantern consists of an octagonal framework with angle posts 60 feet long, and measuring 3 feet 4 inches by 2 feet 8 inches. These great posts are framed together with horizontal pieces, and are supported at a height of near 100 feet from the pavement by a series of brackets consisting of sloping struts and horizontal pieces. The angles of the timber lantern are opposite to the sides of the stone octagon, and each post is supported by two brackets springing from two corners of the stone octagon. The framework is hidden by a light wood vault; the lantern itself also has a wood vault, and above this there is a large and lofty chamber formerly used as a belfry. The

lantern was much mutilated, and its external features quite altered in later times ; it was elaborately restored in the last century by Sir Gilbert Scott, so that the decorative forms of the present lead-covered timber-work are entirely modern.¹

The octagon gives a large clear space admirably adapted to the requirements of a modern congregational service. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that Walsingham and his brother-monks had any such thoughts when they laid their plans. This part of the church was still to be reserved for the choir of the convent, and was still separated from the nave by the stone *pulpitum*. Two stone walls were built right across the lantern from east to west in the same straight lines as the main arcades of the nave and presbytery, and against these walls were placed the new stalls for the monks. The marks of the walls are still to be seen on the piers of the octagon.

The construction of the lantern was completed about 1342, or twenty years after the fall of the tower. Walsingham had by then become prior in succession to Crauden. In 1345 he was elected bishop by the Convent, but the election was not confirmed by the Pope, who appointed instead a certain litigious and extravagant Thomas de Lisle (1345-61). Walsingham is believed to have died in 1364. On his gravestone he is described as the ' Flower of Craftsmen ' (*flos operarum*), and there can be little doubt that he was largely instrumental not only in promoting but also in deciding the general lines of the work with which his name is always associated.

The tower had fallen eastwards, and had destroyed the presbytery—now the choir. The rebuilding had been going on at the same time as the construction of the octagonal lantern, and was being paid for by the

¹ Compare St. Paul's, p. 18.



ELY. THE LANTERN
FROM A DRAWING BY A. B. ALLEN

bishop, John Hotham (1316-37). It is covered by an admirable lierne vault of stone, as also is the north aisle. Between Hotham's work and the part built a century earlier by Northwold there was left on either side a single Norman shaft, sole relics of Simeon's presbytery.

Round the choir and presbytery are several monuments of interest besides those already mentioned on the north side of the presbytery. There is the fragment which is thought to be a part of Saint Etheldreda's shrine, not in its original position, and the rather pompous tomb of Bishop Redman (1501-5) with his chantry chapel. Opposite to this is the somewhat similar tomb of Bishop de Luda, or of Louth (1290-99). Near by, in the south aisle, is the monument of Bishop Gunning (1675-84), author of the prayer for All Sorts and Conditions of Men. The graves of Prior Crauden (1321-41) and of Bishop Hotham (1316-37) are marked by long slabs of Purbeck marble in the floor of the choir. The slab with primitive sculpture preserved at the east end of the south aisle is sometimes assigned to Bishop Eustace (1198-1215), the builder of the west porch, but is much earlier.

While the octagon and lantern were being built by the sacrist a new Lady chapel was in progress under the direction of one of the monks, named John de Wisbech. It is said that at the beginning of the work he did not see his way to raising the necessary funds, but nevertheless he appears to have determined on proceeding. His faith did not go unrewarded. He had persuaded some of the secular brethren to help in digging the trenches for the foundations. He himself was digging at some little distance from the others when his spade struck a brass pot which proved to be full of ancient coins. He kept his own counsel, and when night was come returned to the place and carried off the treasure, hiding it under his bed. This piece of

good luck got him out of his difficulties ; the foundation-stone was laid by Alan de Walsingham on the Feast of Assumption 1321, and the work was finished in 1349. John de Wisbech died on 18th June in that year, a victim to the Black Death. The east window is known to have been done a few years after the rest of the chapel, and the tracery is later in character than that of the other windows.

The Lady chapel at Ely is a particularly magnificent example of the fashion which was at this time general of building larger and more important chapels in honour of the Virgin. Hitherto the altar of Our Lady had often been in an aisle or other convenient place, with little or nothing more distinctive about it than other side altars. At Ely it had stood in the south aisle of the presbytery over against the high altar. The remains of its piscina may still be seen in the south wall. The new building was practically detached, being reached by two covered passages from the aisle of the presbytery : one at the ground level, forming the principal approach, and another at a higher level, which probably formed a private entrance for the prior. The chapel is large, and though exceptionally wide is handsomely vaulted. It is surrounded by a very rich wall arcade, which is decorated by a series of delicate and beautiful sculptures illustrating the history of the Blessed Virgin. At the east end there are remains of an elaborate stone reredos. The windows were filled with admirable coloured glass, as we may see by the fragments which yet remain. The destruction of the glass is perhaps the greatest misfortune that the chapel has suffered, for it must have greatly improved the proportions of the building by reducing the appearance of excessive width.

The destruction of the glass and the mutilation of the sculptures took place during the Puritan rule, for the eastern counties were the stronghold of Puritanism.

Cromwell himself at one time lived in the city and farmed the chapter tithes, as his ancestors had farmed them and the conventual tithes before him. He was Governor of the Isle in 1644.

The Lady chapel was the last great creative work done at Ely. With the exception of the main gateway, the only works of any importance are those of Bishop Alcock (1486-1500), a genuine lover of architecture and a great builder. His hand is always to be recognized by his style and by his oft-repeated punning arms. It was perhaps he who rebuilt the cloisters—rather cheaply, it must be confessed. He rebuilt or made large additions to the Palace, using a rich red brick, and there are very interesting remains of the palace in the same style at Downham, a few miles off. Alcock founded Jesus College, Cambridge, endowing it with the buildings of a Benedictine nunnery, which he suppressed after vainly attempting to reform it. He died in 1500, and was buried in the splendid little chapel which he had made at the east end of the north aisle of the presbytery. This is a notable work and the latest product of pure Gothic architecture at Ely. It should be compared with the chapel in the corresponding position on the south side of the church, built by Nicholas West, bishop from 1515 till 1534. In this chapel Renaissance ornaments are noticeable in several parts, as in the spandrels of the vaulting and in the inscriptions.

Ely has upon the whole been exceptionally fortunate in preserving her monastic buildings. But the five most important—the chapter-house, dormitory, dining-hall, and kitchen, and also the cloister itself—have entirely or almost entirely disappeared, leaving a serious gap.

The buildings belong to almost all periods of medieval history. The giant remains of the kitchen are early Norman, and no doubt the original hall, dormitory, chapter-

house, and cloister were also built early in the twelfth century. The great infirmary is some fifty years later. The monks' hall, on the south side of the cloister, was rebuilt in the middle of the thirteenth century, as the lovely foliage of its remains shows. Not long after, a huge guest-hall (now the deanery) was built, but it was remodelled in the fourteenth century, at about the same time as the reconstruction of several other buildings. Four of these buildings require a few words of description.

About 1330, Prior John de Crauden built for himself and his successors his famous private chapel, an architectural gem of ornate character, much mutilated and much restored. It preserves a very remarkable tile paving, on a part of which is depicted to a large scale the Fall of our first parents. The chapel forms the upper story of a detached building, and was undoubtedly connected by a bridge or gallery with the prior's new study and the hall which he had reconstructed over the old vaulted ground storey.

A similar bridge, it has been thought, connected the chapel with the Fair Hall, a remarkably interesting and beautiful building made by Prior Crauden for the entertainment of Queen Philippa, whose friend he was. This hall, like all the others, has been cut up into several storeys to form a modern dwelling-house, and the beautiful outside is covered with *ampelopsis veitchii*—a pernicious weed which here and elsewhere has been planted to hide buildings of the highest architectural value.

One of the most interesting and important buildings of a monastery was the infirmary, and that at Ely is an unusually well-preserved example, and one which follows closely the normal type. The building lies east of the group surrounding the cloister, and is now divided up into several canons' houses. It was reached from the cloister by a passage under the dormitory,

and thence by a covered way, one wall of which, pierced by windows in deep recesses, still remains.

The infirmary was a church-like building, consisting of nave and aisles and a clerestory. This part formed the infirmary proper. It opened eastwards by a large doorway into a chapel, also with nave and aisles and with a vaulted chancel. All this is Norman work of excellent design. A good deal of it may be seen, because the nave is now roofless and forms an open passage between the canons' houses which occupy the aisles.

The building formed a spacious and convenient place for the sick and infirm and for brethren who had recently undergone the periodical bleeding and who came here for a few days to recover their strength. The beds generally stood in the aisles, the nave being left free. The chapel was, of course, convenient for the convalescent, while the bedridden would be able at least to hear the services. In later times, chiefly in the fourteenth century, it was a common practice to block up the arches between the nave and aisles and to cut up the aisles by cross walls to form separate rooms. This is very clearly seen at Ely, where these later alterations may be easily traced.

The last of the monastic buildings to be noted is the great gateway generally known as 'Ely Porta,' begun in 1396. It is a fine example of early Perpendicular. It was finished during the priorate of William Walpole (1397-c. 1416), and hence is sometimes called Walpole's Gate. It is very simple, and depends for its effect entirely on its size, its just proportions, and its breadth of treatment. It is indeed one of the noblest buildings of its kind in the kingdom.

NORWICH

FOR a long period there had been the seat of a bishop at one of the Elmhams—north or south—it is not certain which. At North Elmham there are remains of a very early church of basilican type, afterwards converted into a castle. The see was removed in 1078 to Thetford, and thence in 1095 to Norwich. This migration was made by Herbert de Losinga, the greatest of the bishops of Norwich. He obtained a piece of ground between what had been the market-place—Tombland, meaning 'empty space'—and the river. Norwich was already an important place, and the Conqueror had built a strong castle here, removing the market to a new site beneath its walls. Losinga at the same time founded a monastery for sixty Benedictine monks to serve his cathedral church.

A great deal of the work of Losinga and his immediate successors remains, and affords a striking instance of the largeness of idea of the Norman builders. The nave is the longest in England save Saint Alban's, and the total length of the church is 407 feet. The presbytery, the transepts, and the nave as far as the *pulpitum*—the part of the nave which formed the choir of the monks—were built by Losinga, and the nave was finished by his successor, Everard, in 1149. The church was built in honour of the Holy Trinity, but among the citizens it has generally been known as Christ Church.

Besides this great church, the scheme of the founder included large and massive dwellings for the monks



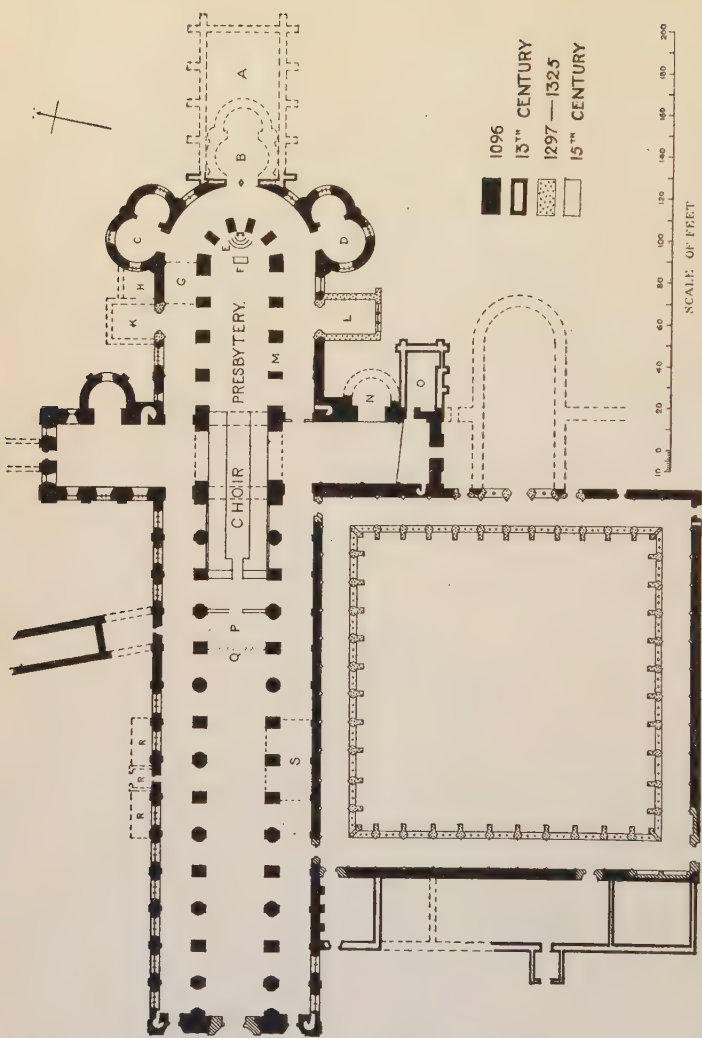
Dexter R.B.A.

NORWICH FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

to the south of the church, and a palace for the bishop himself on the north side, of which a considerable part remains. This great mass of building would not have been possible to even Norman energy had not water-carriage brought materials to the very site; for all the stone had to come a considerable distance, and that for the outside work was brought from Northamptonshire.

The Norman plan remains with little alteration, and is very interesting. The aisle of the presbytery is continued round the great apse, and from it there project circular chapels each with its apse. The easternmost of these was destroyed in the thirteenth century to make way for a large rectangular Lady chapel which has also been demolished, but the two lateral chapels are intact. This plan, it will be seen, contrasts strongly with that of Saint Alban's, where each aisle is terminated with an apse. The Norwich arrangement was much the more popular in this country.

Norwich is also interesting as being the one church in Great Britain which preserves any remains of the original ritual arrangement of the east end. The throne of Losinga remains *in situ*. It is at the extreme east end and faces west. Placed on a platform more than six feet above the floor of the presbytery, the bishop looked over the high altar which stood a few feet to the west of him on the chord of the apse. This venerable chair is of stone, large and massive. It has suffered somewhat in the course of the eight centuries which have passed over it, and the semicircular flight of steps which led up to the platform have disappeared. Their exact position was marked by a chiselled line on the original stone pavement which remained—though covered by a floor of later date—till it was removed some few years ago in the process of restoration. On either side of the throne there was doubtless a stone bench for the other clergy, but of these no fragment



NORWICH. A destroyed thirteenth century Lady chapel. B original eastern chapel. C Jesus' chapel. D St. Luke's chapel. E remains of original bishop's throne. F position of original and present altars. G the relics chapel is over this bay. H the sanctuary men's chamber. K site of chapel of St. Stephen. L Beauchamp chapel. M tomb of Bishop Goldwell. N destroyed apse. O building formerly the sacristy. P *pulpitum*. Q position of nave altar. R position of porch and of galleries used during sermons. S Bishop Nix's chapel. (Some of the mullioned windows shown in this plan have been replaced by sham Norman. In the key the fifteenth century work should be watched.)

remains. This arrangement of the east end was, it need hardly be said, universal in early times. Norwich is exceptional only in being lucky enough to preserve some remains of it.

In 1171—within a century of the foundation—there occurred the first and apparently the least disastrous of the fires from which the building has from time to time suffered. Bishop William de Turbe, a partisan of Thomas à Becket's, "thereupon made a vow that he would not go farther than twelve leagues from his church, unless compelled by absolute necessity, until it was rebuilt. It is said that he himself would sometimes sit in a chair at the door asking for contributions, so that within two years it was restored altogether as it was before."

In 1272 the monastery suffered its greatest misfortune. There had long been disputes between the townsfolk and the monks as to certain tolls claimed by the monks on goods brought to the great fair held annually at the Feast of the Holy Trinity. At last the quarrel burst into flame, and the citizens made a furious attack on the monastery. They burnt the Saint Ethelbert gate, the southern of the two Tombland gateways, and the fire spread to adjoining buildings. They with catapults threw fire into the great belfry which was above the choir, and this fire spread to the body of the church and to the other buildings. It is said that the whole church was destroyed except the Lady chapel, which was miraculously preserved. If the old writers are to be believed, all other buildings were destroyed; for besides the church, the accounts specifically mention the dormitory, the refectory, strangers' hall, and infirmary, the Ethelbert gate and the chapel near it, the great bell-tower near the gateway, now called the Erpingham gate, and indeed almost every building in the close. No doubt, however, the massive walls were

well able to withstand the fire, and only the roofs and other woodwork had to be renewed; for we are told that all damage was made good within six years. King Henry III came down and held an inquiry. A certain number of people were hanged, the town was laid under an interdict and a heavy fine imposed. The repair of most of the damage was completed in 1278. On Advent Sunday of that year, with due pomp and in the presence of the King and Queen and of many bishops, earls and barons, the new bishop of the diocese, William de Middleton, was enthroned, and the church was for the first time dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity.

Not very much of the work in the church itself appears to be of this period, but some of the monastic buildings may, from their style, be assigned to this rebuilding.

In the latter part of the thirteenth century a chapel was constructed in the north aisle of the presbytery. It is built on a low vault which spans the aisle. This chapel, which is decorated with paintings, was sometimes called the Relics Chapel, and sometimes the Confessionary, or place where the relics of saints or confessors were kept. It was reached by a few steps from the presbytery, and also by a spiral staircase from the aisle, the floor of which is lower than that of the presbytery. Its construction on a sort of bridge above the general floor level allowed of its being put in a place of honour in close proximity to the high altar without interrupting the processions along the aisle. The relics chapel is of early Decorated character (late thirteenth century), but was extended east and west at a later period.

A small building in direct communication with the relics chapel was erected early in the fifteenth century, against the north wall of the aisle, in a space between the circular Norman Jesus chapel and square chapel of Saint Andrew, which had been built a little to the

west of it late in the thirteenth century. It was "sometyme called the Sanctuarye mens' chamber," 'sanctuary men' here meaning watchers and guardians of the church.

No important work was done in the church for near a century after the building of the relics chapel. More than one of the bishops during that time were extremely unpopular. One of the most important, John Salmon (1299-1325), was absorbed in politics; such building as he did was outside the cathedral church, and will be noticed on a later page.

In 1362 the timber spire which had been reconstructed after the great riot was blown down by a violent gale which swept over this part of the country and did infinite damage. The spire fell eastwards and crushed the presbytery. The present light and lofty clerestory was then built by Bishop Percy (1356-69), and covered with an ornamental wood roof, which still exists. The present rich vault was made by Bishop Goldwell (1472-1499) under this roof. It is carried on the very slender clerestory piers built by Bishop Percy. This is a very daring piece of construction, which owes its stability to the scientific flying buttresses which Goldwell added when he built the vault. Goldwell also rebuilt the main arches on each side of the presbytery, under one of which is his tomb and chantry chapel. His obvious rebus may be seen on the bosses of the vault. It is thought also that it was he who built the present stone spire.

The elaborate lierne vault of the nave was put up in 1463. The old wooden roof had been destroyed by a fire caused by lightning. The intersections of the ribs are decorated with bosses, 225 in number, carved with subjects from Scripture. The vaulting shafts spring from corbels which are carved with the arms of Bishop Walter Lyhart (1446-72), who constructed the vault, and with his rebus, a *hart lying in water*.

Bishop Lyhart also rebuilt the *pulpitum*, or rood loft, supported on two stone walls which separate the nave from the choir. The walls were formerly continued across the aisles, but these parts were destroyed in 1854. The space between the two walls under the loft was the chapel of Our Lady of Pity. Against the westernmost wall, on each side of the central door, there was an altar : that on the north side was dedicated to Saint William of Norwich, a boy who was supposed—without doubt wrongly supposed—to have been crucified by the Jews in 1137. A little to the west, probably between the next pair of columns, stood the principal nave altar. The next columns are enriched by bold spiral flutes. A little farther west still two bays of the south aisle have Perpendicular vaulting. These bays were formerly railed off, and formed the chantry chapel of Bishop Richard Nykke or Nix (1501-1535). He it was who constructed the rich vaults of the transepts after their destruction, or at least the destruction of one of them, by fire in 1509. On one of the piers of the chapel you may still see the iron frame in which hung the sanctus bell.

Bishop Nix's chantry brings us to the close of the period of building and to the opening of the age of destruction. Three pieces of furniture may be noticed in conclusion. You should remark especially the painted wood reredos, or 'table,' as it was called, dating from the latter part of the fourteenth century. It measures 8 feet long by nearly 3 feet high, and is divided into five panels, in which are paintings of the following subjects : The scourging of our Lord, Christ bearing His cross, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Ascension. The work is thought by some of the best authorities to be by English painters, while others think that it is Italian. It has been suggested that it was a thank-offering for the suppression of the insurrection of 1381.

In Saint Luke's chapel, which now serves as the parish church of Saint Mary-on-the-Marsh, there is a fifteenth-century octagonal font, sculptured with the seven sacraments and with the Crucifixion, but much mutilated by the Puritans. There are several other fonts of this type in the neighbourhood, as at Sall and Alderford.

The bronze lectern is very fine. In place of the usual eagle, there is a 'pelican in her piety,' an uncommon subject, admirably treated. The figures round the shaft are modern.

Most of the buildings that surrounded the cloister have been destroyed, but the cloister itself tells us much about them. It is a handsome building, vaulted and of two storeys. It may be entered from the church by a door in the north-east corner, the arch of which is curiously wrought with figures under canopies. Close to this door, in the eastern alley, are recesses in which were kept the books which the monks studied in the cloister. A blocked-up square recess to the left of the door probably served the same purpose. If you walk south down the east alley, you come first to a door which led to the monks' cemetery. Next to this are three arches—a doorway with a window on each side. These mark the west end of the chapter-house. They are of fourteenth-century date, but the chapter-house itself was built in Norman times and was terminated eastwards by an apse. To the south of these, again, there is a doorway which used to give access to a flight of stairs leading to the dormitory. The dormitory itself and the vaulted rooms under it as well as the chapter-house have been entirely destroyed, only foundations remaining. From the south-east corner there is a passage which led to the infirmary.

In the south-west angle of the cloister there is the door to the frater, or dining-hall. Close by are the long stone troughs in arched recesses, in which the monks

washed their hands; some shallow recesses on the left-hand side of the door mark the place where the towels hung.

In the west alley there are two doorways; the southern led to the guest-hall, the remains of which show it to have been a handsome room built in the latter part of the thirteenth century or early in the fourteenth century. By the northern door the monks entered a room which was no doubt the outer parlour; here they could see their friends, who entered it by another door near the west entrance of the cathedral. In this (the north-west) corner of the cloister there is another door leading to the nave of the church.

All round the cloister there runs a stone seat on which you may find groups of little holes arranged in nines. These were made by the novices, and perhaps by the monks themselves, for playing a sort of Fox-and-Geese, a game still played by children in the neighbourhood and called Morris.

One of the most interesting and most perfect of the remaining buildings is that now used as the grammar school, on the left of the Erpingham gate. It used to be called the *carnaria*, or charnel-house. Bishop Salmon founded in 1299 a chantry for the support of four chaplains to sing masses for the souls of himself, his father and mother, his predecessors and successors. Salmon was a builder of rather magnificent ideas, as appears even more clearly in his additions to the palace, and he proceeded to erect buildings more than sufficient for the singing of the masses and for the accommodation of the priests.

The chapel is a vaulted parallelogram 61 feet long. It was entered at the west end by a door to which Bishop Lyhart afterwards (about 1450) added a porch, or perhaps rebuilt an older porch. Please to admire the ingenious and picturesque contriving of the steps and vaulting so as to allow the upper story of the adjoining

building to extend over the porch. Under the chapel Salmon formed a vaulted chamber in which were to be placed any human bones that might be disinterred in the city of Norwich.¹

Abutting upon the west end of the chapel is the house of the chantry priests, probably rebuilt to some extent by Bishop Lyhart. The house followed the usual medieval plan. It had a hall 36 feet long, a screens-passage (the hall of the present house), and on the other side of this a buttery and kitchen. On the upper floor there was a large room, extending over the hall, the screens-passage, and the porch of the chapel. This was probably the dormitory of the priests.

When Edward VI founded his grammar school—that is to say, when he re-established, as he did elsewhere, a school which had existed for centuries before his father's clumsy suppressions—he placed the scholars in the then disused buildings of the *carnaria*. The chapel became the schoolroom, and the priests' house a lodging for the master.

Bishop Salmon, who built this group, made also a most notable addition to the palace. This consisted of a great dining-hall, 120 feet long by 60 feet wide, divided into nave and aisles by stone columns. This great building, done at a time when medieval architecture was at its highest, has been entirely destroyed with the exception of two small fragments. The beautiful porch remains, and the southernmost bay of the hall, the part occupied by the high table. The latter fragment has been converted into the bishop's private chapel; for the Norman chapel, 130 feet long, has been destroyed. The palace grounds are entered by a fine gateway built by Bishop Alnwick about 1430. It was very necessary to have good defensive gateways in those turbulent times, and the whole precinct was surrounded by a strong and high wall, the greater part of which still remains.

¹ Compare Hereford, p. 75.

The cathedral was reached through the fine Erpingham gate, opposite the west doors. It was built by Sir Thomas Erpingham (1357-1428) after 1411. This was the Sir Thomas Erpingham who commanded the archers at Agincourt and is introduced by Shakespeare in the scene before the battle.

Just within this gate, on the right as you enter, stood the great detached belfry tower, usually called in the building accounts the 'berefrey' or the 'clocher.'¹ It was one of the buildings destroyed in the riot of 1272. Its rebuilding was begun in 1299, and finished in 1307 at a cost of about three hundred pounds, equal to perhaps six thousand pounds at the present value of money. It does not seem to be known when the clocher was taken down, but the dean and chapter sold the five bells in 1572. It was very wide, but probably not high; in a view of Norwich taken in 1579 it looks rather like the detached bell-tower which formerly stood on the north side of Salisbury Cathedral.

The Saint Ethelbert gate, which was attacked and carried by the mob of 1272, and rebuilt by the citizens, formed the entrance to the monastery, while the Erpingham gate led to the church. It was here that broken victuals were distributed to the indigent. Over the gateway there was a chapel.

Perhaps the most interesting of the gates is the water-gate. This, no doubt, was the entrance through which most goods were brought, both heavy material like building stone, which came by sea and river, and also much of the ordinary provisions from the outlying estates of the convent. The roadway which leads from it to the close, marks the line of a canal, at the head of which there was another gate. The barges in the canal were protected by a chain drawn through rings which still remain in the stonework.

¹ See Chichester, p. 34.

DURHAM

S AINT CUTHBERT was laid to rest in the island of Lindisfarne, and dying had charged the abbot that if ever the monks were compelled to leave their monastery they were to carry his body with them. Two hundred years later his commands were obeyed. The Danes had harried Northumbria, and were now approaching Lindisfarne. Abbot, monks, and laymen crossed to the mainland and fled, carrying the body of the saint with them. Little can they have dreamed in their dismay that they had set out on a journey which was to end on one of the grandest sites, that that site was to be crowned by one of the noblest temples ever reared, or that their bishops were to become little less than kings. Attempting to cross to Ireland, they were driven back by stress of weather, and wandered for seven years from place to place with their precious burden. At last they were given a home at Chester le Street, on the river Wear, and there they found rest. This boon they had from their old enemies the Danes, now turned Christian. Here the monks remained for about a century. Then, in fear of another Danish invasion, the bishop and his monks removed, still carrying the body of the saint, to Ripon. Returning thence towards Chester le Street, they settled, in obedience, as they said, to Saint Cuthbert's directions, at Dunholme on the Wear, some five or six miles above Chester. And well may they have claimed to have been inspired in making the choice. For here the river makes a sharp bend round a steep bluff of hill, giving excellent

protection from foes, and leaving ample room within its fold for their settlement. But the saint was even more far-seeing than they thought. For it was the strategic strength of the ground which in after years obtained for the bishops the rank and the castle of an earl and the power of princes ; it was the hidden minerals of the district which made them in still later times the wealthiest subjects of the Crown.

It was in 995 that the bishop and monks removed to Durham. They first built a temporary church of wood, and then set about building a stone church, and this was so far completed in 999 that on the 4th of September it was possible to translate to it the body of Saint Cuthbert. This church continued in use until the present building was begun soon after the Conquest.

The Conqueror built a great castle close alongside the cathedral. This he bestowed upon the first Norman bishop, together with the earldom of Northumberland. But Walcher, the first of the earl-bishops, was not big enough for the place, and he paid the penalty of a weak man who trusts to ill-chosen favourites, and died at the hands of an infuriated mob at the door of the church of Gateshead.

He was succeeded by William de Saint Carilef (1080-96), prior of the monastery of that name (now called Saint Calais), near Le Mans in France. If Carilef, as he is usually called, was not strictly a Norman, he had all a Norman's love of magnificent architecture, and he began the rebuilding of the cathedral on its present lines. The enthusiasm for the monastic life had spread to the north shortly before this, and it had been Walcher's intention to substitute Benedictine monks for the secular canons who at some unknown time had replaced the monks. Carilef carried out this intention. The old canons elected to depart rather than

become Benedictines, and monks were brought to fill their places from Jarrow and Wearmouth.

The bishop was a man of great ability, and held high office in the state. But his crooked policy and his doubtful loyalty to Rufus made it necessary for him to retire for a time to Normandy. It is perhaps due to this episode that we owe the noble design of Durham. On his return he brought back books and sacred vessels and vestments, and in all probability a plan for the rebuilding of the church. This he began in 1093, and though he lived but two and a half years longer it is said that he finished the choir and the arches of the lantern or central tower, and began the nave. This would be practically impossible even in the present day, and six times as long would be required in the eleventh century. The exact point to which Carilef carried the building is, however, not very important. He it was who by the beginning that he made gave the building its noblest quality. It is the majestic proportion of the interior that lifts Durham above all other Norman work in England. In much of the contemporary work there is almost an absence of proportion owing to the nearly equal height of the three storeys. But here there is a due subordination of the triforium to the main arcade by which the whole composition gains enormously in dignity. At Durham as in almost every ancient building there is not a little that is fortuitous, or is at least the happy seizing of a chance. But the choir is a deliberate creation, and is one of the greatest things done even in an age of giants. Carilef had his faults as a statesman, but he was a wise ruler of his diocese and a true father to his monks; to us he left a supreme example of masterful architecture.

Carilef's choir was a little longer than the present choir, the apse which terminated it projecting somewhat into what is now the great eastern transept. The aisles also ended in apses internally; though outside they

were finished with square walls. The work is thought to have continued without interruption after Carilef's death, although the see remained vacant for three years, so that the walls of the great transept are assigned to the years 1096-99. Then Ralph Flambard was consecrated bishop, and he continued the building with an energy equal to that of his predecessor; for he is said to have finished the nave and to have built at least the greater part of the western towers before his death in 1128. This seems to be the one and only thing that can be said in Flambard's favour. The historians attribute to him every meanness and every vice, and give him a principal share in all the bad government of those bad times. This nave, whether it be really his or not, perhaps gives us a better idea than the choir itself of Carilef's work in its original state.

The year 1104 is generally accepted as almost certainly the date of the choir vault; the transept vault is put a few years later; and the church was only begun in 1093. Sharp work. The transept vault is important in general architectural history, for it is an early example of a vault over a wide span and of a pointed arch. The choir vault has been rebuilt. The nave vault dates from 1140.

The next building in order of date is the chapter-house, of which more anon. It was finished in 1143. When, therefore, the magnificent Hugh de Puiset, or Pudsey, nephew of King Stephen, became bishop in 1153 there was not very much left for him to do, ardent builder though he was. His one achievement, the famous Galilee, is exquisite. The monk who wrote the well-known *Rites of Durham*, gives the following account of the work:—

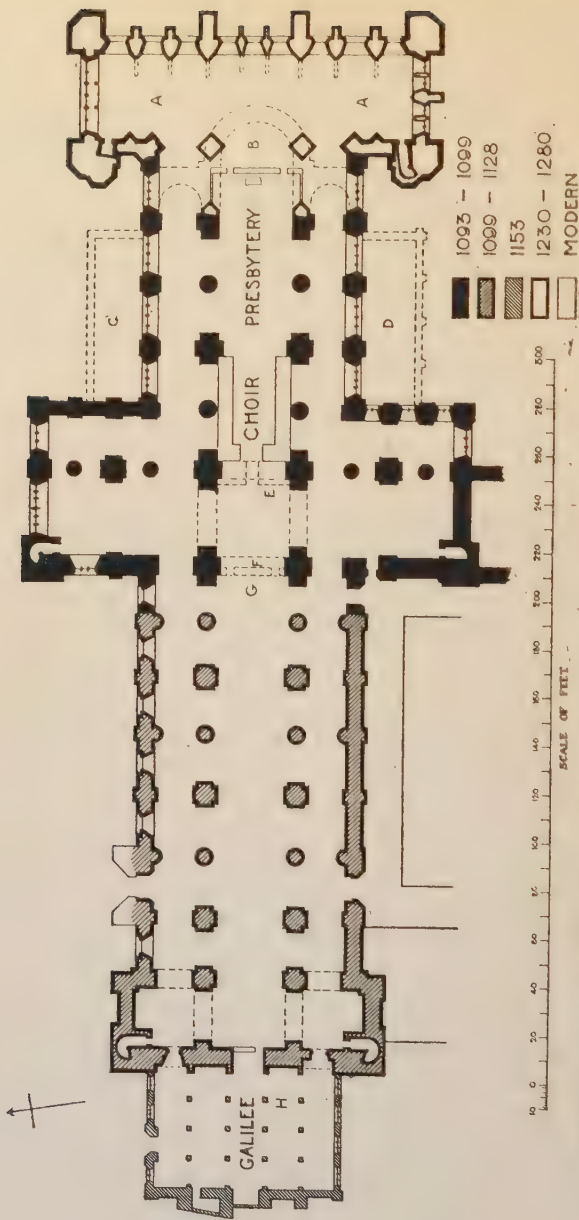
Hugo Bishop of Durham . . . considering the deligence of his predecessors in buylding the Cathedrall church, which was finished but a few yeres before his tyme, no Chappell beinge then erected to ye blessed Virgin Marie, whereunto it should be lawfull for women to haue accesse, began to erect a newe pece of woorke at ye east

end of ye said Cathedrall church, for which worke there weare sundry pillars of marble stone brought from beyonde ye seas but this worke being browght to a small height began throwghe great rifts apperinge in ye same to fall downe, wherevpon yt manyfestlye appeared yt that worke was not acceptable to god & holy St. Cuthbert especially by reason of ye accesse which women weare to haue so neare his fferreter [shrine]. In consideration whereof the woorke was left of, and a newe begun and finished at ye west angle of ye said church, whereunto yt was lawfull for women to enter, having no holie place beforre where they mighte haue lawfull accesse vnto for there cumforthe and consolacion.

In that it is called the galleley by reason (accordinge as some thinke) of the translatinge of the same once begun and afterward removed, wherevpon it toke ye name of galleley: to which place such as maid repaire vnto it had graunted vnto them sundry pardons, as more plainly appereth in a table there sett vp conteyning ye said pardons.

The altar of Our Lady was of blue marble with a reredos and canopy of wainscot work, "ye wainscott being devised & furnished with most heavenly pictures so lyuely in cullers & gilding." This altar, or at least the reredos, was no doubt much later than Bishop Hugh's time. The chapel has been a good deal changed since its first building. Bishop Langley (1406-37) altered the columns: his work is of stone, while the original shafts are Purbeck marble. He also made two doors from the aisle and blocked the old west door, but this has since been reopened. Against the blocked door Langley placed the altar of Our Lady, and prepared a tomb for himself just in front of it. To the west there was a choir of stalls called the Cantarie, enclosed by screens. Immediately to the north was an altar dedicated to Our Lady of Pity; to the south, Saint Bede's altar and shrine. The chapel also contained a font and a 'fair iron pulpit.'

We have now come to the period of the famous eastern transept known as the Nine Altars. This great work was begun during the earliest, yet fully developed, phase of the Gothic style. There is some obscurity



DURHAM. A the Nine Altars. B site of Saint Cuthbert's shrine. C site of sexton's checker. D site of revestry. E site of choir screen. F site of *pulpitum* or rood screen. G site of the nave altar (Jesus' altar). H site of the shrine of Saint Bede.

about the exact dates, but it is thought to have been begun during the episcopate of Richard le Poore (1229-37), who as Bishop of Salisbury had begun the building of the new church there. The work did not proceed very quickly. Two of the altars are known to have been dedicated in 1274, but in 1278 an Indulgence was granted by the Bishop of Norwich to all who should contribute to the more rapid finishing of the new fabric.

The Nine Altars is one of the most graceful works of a period when English architecture, if as yet only approaching its climax, had completely broken with the Norman tradition and had begun that series of bold experiments which are still our wonder and our despair. In general design the building resembles the east transept of Fountains Abbey, which is thought to be a few years earlier and to have been the source of inspiration of the Durham architect. The plan of the two is similar, and both rise to the full height of the choir. In the forty years during which the work was in progress architecture was developing at a rapid rate, and some modifications were made in the original design. The vaulting is very admirable, and is skilfully adapted to suit the varied plans of the several bays.

There is in the East end of the church a goodly faire round window called St. Katherns window, the bredth of the quere all of stone uerye finely and cunningly wrought and glazed, hauinge in it 24 lights uerye artificially made as it is called geometricall, and the picture of St. Kathern is sett in glass on the right side underneath the said window in a nother glazed window.

The other windows had pictures of Saint Cuthbert holding Saint Oswald's head in his right hand, of the birth of Saint Cuthbert with the sunbeam shining upon his mother's bed, of Saint Oswald blowing his horn, of Bishop Langley, of the martyrdom of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, of Saint Margaret and Saint Martin, and of many other saints and worthies, all of whom are set

down at length by our monkish recorder. The destruction of the glass is a very great misfortune to the transept, the enormous windows of which require and would well display richly coloured glass. The pictures were of scenes from the lives of the saints in honour of whom the nine altars were dedicated.¹ These altars were placed against the east wall. Each had its canopy "in uerye decent & comely form," and its enclosing screen, "all uarnished ouer, with fine branches & flowers and other imagerye worke most finely and artificially pictured and gulted, conteyninge the seuerall lockers or ambers for the safe keepinge of the uestments and ornaments belonginge to euerye altar."

When the Nine Altars was built it had, of course, been necessary to take down the three Norman apses. The eastern bay of the choir had hitherto been enclosed by solid walls, for it was flanked by the apses of the aisles. The aisles were now continued to the new transept, and the eastern bay of the choir was rebuilt with arches into the aisles in place of the solid walls, and with triforium and clerestory. When this was finished the whole of the choir was vaulted by Prior Hoton (1289-1307).

In Norman times the high altar had stood on the chord of the apse. Behind it doubtless was the bishop's throne, raised on a flight of steps against the wall of the apse, facing west, and flanked by lower seats for the clergy.² How long this arrangement continued we cannot tell. It need not necessarily have been altered when Bishop Flambard translated the remains of Saint Cuthbert from its temporary resting-place to the apse in 1104,

¹ Beginning at the north: (1) Saint Michael; (2) Saint Andrew and Saint Helen; (3) Saint Peter and Saint Paul; (4) Saint Martin; (5) Saint Cuthbert and Saint Bede; (6) Saint Oswald and Saint Laurence; (7) Saint Thomas of Canterbury and Saint Katherine; (8) Saint John Baptist and Saint Margaret; (9) Saint Andrew and Saint Mary Magdalene.

² See Norwich, p. 221.

for the body was placed below ground, and the monument would likely enough have been but low. When, however, the arrangements of the choir were restored after the building operations of the thirteenth century, the throne was probably not replaced. The monk to whom we owe so much gives a glowing account of the altar and shrine as they were immediately before the Reformation :

Next to theise 9 altars was the goodly monument of Saint Cuthbert . . . in the midst wherof his sacred shrine was exalted with most curious workmanship of fine & costly green marble all limned and guilited with gold hauinge foure seates or places conuenient under the shrine for the pilgrims or sicke men sittinge on their knees to leane and rest on in time of their deuout offeringes and feruent prayers to God and holy St. Cuthbert for his miraculous releife and succour which beinge neuer wantinge made the shrine to bee so richly inuested, that it was estimated to bee one of the most sumptuous monuments in all England, so great were the offeringes and jewells that were bestowed vppon it, and no lesse the miracles that were done by it. . . . At the west end of this shrine of St. Cuthbert was a little altar adioyned to it for masse to bee said on onely vppon the great and holy feast of St. Cuthberts day. . . . And at this feast . . . they were accustomed to drawe vpp the couer of St. Cuthbert's shrine . . . beinge of Wainscott wherevnto was fastned vnto every corner of ye said cover to a loope of Iron a stronge Cord which Cord was all fast together over ye midst over ye cover. And a strong rope was fest vnto ye loopes or bindinge of ye said Cordes which rann vpp and downe in a pulley vnder ye Vault : . . . haueinge Six silver bells fastned to ye said rope, soe as when ye cover of ye same was drawinge vpp ye belles did make such a good sound yt itt did stirr all ye peoples harts . . . which cover was all gilded over and of eyther side was painted fower lively Images curious to ye beholders and on the East End was painted the picture of Our Saviour sittinge on a Rainbowe to geive Judgment very lively to ye behoulders and on the West end of itt was ye picture of Our Lady & Our Saviour on her knee. And on the topp of ye Cover from end to end was most fyne brattishing of carved worke cut owte with Dragons and other beasts. . . .

The King of Scotts Ancient and his Banner with the Lord Nevells Banner, and diverse other Noblemens Ancients were all brought to Saint Cuthberts Feretorie, and there the said Lord Nevell after ye battle done in moste solemne & humble manner did make his petition to God and that holy man St. Cuthbert to accept his offeringe.

The battle done was Neville's Cross, fought in 1346 by Ralph, Lord Neville, about a mile out of Durham. Here, too, hung the Banner of Saint Cuthbert, which had also been carried to the field. On to it had been sewn a corporas cloth which Saint Cuthbert had used. This was done by order of the prior, in obedience to a vision of the previous night. The victory was attributed to the presence of this relic, and it afterwards accompanied the King's host at Flodden and on other occasions. The screen at the back of the high altar was given by John, Lord Neville, who had fought by his father's side at Neville's Cross. Father and son lie in the south aisle of the nave.

The building of the Nine Altars practically completed the church plan as we have it to-day. The result is in several ways remarkable. The form of the eastern transept is unusual; it is the simplest and in some ways one of the most dignified forms of eastward termination. The western Galilee is one degree more exceptional, having its like in no other church.

The unusual length of the eastern arm of the church made it possible to place the stalls of the monks within it instead of under the tower or in the nave, as was done in most monastic churches. They were separated from the central tower or lantern, as it was called, by a screen against which they were returned. The medieval stalls which had been destroyed were replaced by others, still remaining, by Bishop Cosin (1660-72).

The screen which enclosed the choir consisted of a substantial wall with a door in the middle. The west face of the wall was adorned with some thirty or more effigies of kings and queens of England and Scotland, under canopies in several tiers—"in their seuerall roomes one aboue another the most excellent pictures, all gilted uerye beautifull to behould." Benefactors to the church were they, their pictures being

set there "to incite and prouoke theire posteritie to the like religious endeauours."

Between the west piers of the lantern was there another stone wall, the rood-screen with the rood-loft over it. Against this screen stood the principal nave altar, called the Jesus altar, where the Jesus mass was sung every Friday night, and on each side of the altar a door for the procession to go forth and come in at. Against the wall there stood what we call a triptych, but the monks, with more simplicity and not less sense, 'a table with two leaves.' Thereon was the whole Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ most richly and curiously set forth in most lively colours all like to burning gold. This table was locked up, save only on principal days. The altar was enclosed with wood screens 'like unto a porch,' varnished with fine red varnish. "Also there was in ye hight of ye said wall from pillar to pillar ye whole storie & passion of our Lord wrowghte in stone most curiously & most fynely gilte, and also aboue ye said storie & passion was all ye whole storie & pictures of ye xij apostles." Above all these pictures was a border, carved in stone and coloured and gilt with branches and flowers, so excellent that "ye more that a man did looke on it ye more was his affection to behold. On the wall did stand the most goodly and famous Rood that was in all this land with the picture of Mary on the one side and the picture of St. John on the other with two splendent and glistering archangels one on the one side of Mary & the other on the other side John."

The only important work of later date than the Nine Altars is the central tower. A tower of some sort had existed from early times, and a belfry had been added by Prior Derlyngton (1258-74). This was struck by lightning in 1429 and set on fire. The rebuilding or repair seems to have been begun in 1456 and to have

been unfinished in 1474. Since then it had been so much mutilated that its thorough restoration by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1859 seems to have been really justifiable. The design is remarkable, and suggests that the work of the fifteenth century was a reparation or a very slow rebuilding, for the result, happy as it is, certainly does not suggest the work of a single mind or of a first intention.

The west towers formerly had wooden spires covered with lead. In 1667 these were taken down, and about 1778 the quite inadequate parapets and pinnacles were added. The general effect of the towers is very good; the Norman part, up to the same level as the top of the clerestory wall, is particularly fine. The heavily buttressed Galilee, built on the steep hill-side, falls very happily into the general composition.

Many minor alterations were, of course, made from time to time. The great north window of the transept and the west window of the nave are of late Decorated character, and probably date from between 1350 and 1370. The south window of the transept is early fifteenth century. Perpendicular windows were also inserted in the Nine Altars, in the Galilee, and elsewhere. There can be no doubt, also, that much of the furniture, such as altar-enclosures, now removed was late work.

The bishops of Durham have been leading men in their day by reason of the great political importance of their office, their exceptional jurisdiction, and their wealth. Not a few of them owe even more to their own force of character, and some were really great. The most distinguished, however, do not figure largely in an account of the cathedral church through not having been great builders. To the historian they supply plenty of material, much of it of very picturesque quality. Bishop Philip of Poitou (1197-1208), for instance, laid siege to the monastery, lighted great fires at the doors

and windows, and finally dragged the prior from the very altar during the celebration of the Feast of Saint Cuthbert. He was a Royal favourite, and was not even in priest's orders at the time of his election.

Anthony Bek (1283-1310) was nominated by Edward I. He is always spoken of as magnificent. A good deal of his magnificence was the magnificence of wealth. Though simple in his personal tastes, he loved display. His ordinary retinue consisted of a hundred and forty knights, and stories are told of how he would buy things merely because nobody else could afford them: forty shillings for forty herrings—in modern money, much more than a pound a herring. He was more diplomatist than bishop, and more soldier than diplomatist. He joined Edward I in his wars against Scotland with a thousand foot and five hundred horse, all fighting under the sacred banner of Saint Cuthbert. "In all points he was one of the most characteristic figures of his time. Barons and earls he treated with haughty superiority, and he pursued his course regardless alike of archbishop, king, and pope. He was a man of dauntless courage, of boundless energy, and of absolute chastity." Before his time and for long after no Bishop of Durham was buried in the cathedral church, so great was the reverence for Saint Cuthbert: and even he was not carried past the shrine; a special doorway was made direct into the Nine Altars for his funeral.

Richard of Bury (1333-45), 'the first English Bibliomaniac,' was succeeded by Thomas Hatfield (1345-81), a soldier, who took part in the battle of Neville's Cross. John Fordham (1381-88), who followed him, being a failure, was translated to Ely, a fact which, it has been pointed out, indicates the relative importance of the two sees. He was succeeded by the pious Walter Skirlawe (1388-1405), who built the cloisters.

Cuthbert Tunstall's (1530-59) long career of eighty-five years, for thirty-seven of which he was a bishop, "is one of the most consistent and honourable in the sixteenth century." As it extended from the reign of Henry VII to that of Elizabeth, and yet terminated naturally, it may be said also to have been one of the most lucky.

John Cosin (1660-72) is the last bishop who calls for special notice. As one of the High Church party, he took a leading part in the reparation and adornment of the cathedral church while he was a member—and probably the youngest—of the chapter. He was one of the first to suffer during the Puritan ascendancy, and he lived for many years in France. Shortly after the Restoration he became Bishop of Durham, and at once set about putting the diocese in order, a work for which his abilities and great force of character peculiarly fitted him. The most remarkable of his architectural works are the stalls in the cathedral and the palace at Auckland. He also did much restoration to Durham Castle and to the many dilapidated churches of the diocese.

Durham must be reckoned among the cathedral churches which have suffered most at the hands of the vandals. The work of the Reformation seems to have been done very thoroughly, and a great deal of the furniture with which Bishop Cosin replaced that which the reformers had destroyed has also gone, although his fine stalls and magnificent font cover have been spared. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the cathedral chapter seems to have been composed of men on whom had fallen a double portion of the spirit of their age. Some of their doings demand a passing notice.

The chapter-house was a singularly fine Norman room, no less than 80 feet long and 37 feet wide, with

an apsidal east end. It was covered with a contemporary stone vault in a single span. "The four ribs above the apse were carried on very remarkable caryatides—full-length figures of most unusual design." At the east end was the stone chair of the priors, in which also the bishops had been installed. The early bishops had been buried in the chapter-house—none having presumed to lie near the blessed Saint Cuthbert—and their memorials were to be seen on the floor.

In 1796, this room was pronounced to be cold, comfortless and inconvenient. The chapter architect was accordingly instructed to improve it. "He began by knocking out the keystone of the groining, allowing the whole roof to fall on the pavement and to destroy the gravestones. The eastern end, about half of the original chapter-house, was then removed altogether. A new wall was built enclosing the remaining portion, and all the ancient features of that were hidden by a facing of lath and plaster. The floor was boarded and a plaster ceiling was constructed, shutting out the great west window."

This work was carried out in the time of Dean Cornwallis; it has since been rebuilt. Dean Cornwallis also approved a plan for the total destruction of the Galilee; but having revoked the order in consequence of a remonstrance from the Society of Antiquaries of London, he boasted for the rest of his life of having 'saved the Galilee.'

It was a few years earlier than this that Wyatt pared down the outside stone-work of nearly the whole church and remodelled the details according to his own notions. This process has, of course, completely destroyed all the architectural value of the work so treated, and has given to the surface a singularly mean and papery quality. It only remains to add that much of what had escaped the reformers of the sixteenth

and seventeenth centuries and the vandals of the eighteenth fell a prey to the restorers of the second half of the nineteenth century.

We may now leave this depressing subject and return to our account of the buildings. It remains to say something of the famous monastery.

To begin with the cloister. The present work was begun in 1368, and was not finished till 1498. The tracery was renewed in the middle of the eighteenth century. The *Rites of Durham* gives an account of the cloister which is particularly interesting. The cloister, it must be remembered, was the living-place of the monks. They naturally chose the north walk or alley as being the sunniest. Here they studied, and here the windows were glazed. There were, we are told,

in every wyndowe iij^o pewes or carrells where every one of the old monks had his Carrell severall by him selfe, that when they had dined they dyd resorte to that place of the cloister and there studyed vpon there books, every one in his carrell all ye after noone vnto evensong tyme, this was there exorise every daie : all there pewes or Carrells was all fynely wainscotted, and verie close all but ye forepart which had carved worke that gave light in at there carrell doures of wainscott : and in euery carrell was a deske to lye there bookes on ; and ye carrells was no greater then from one stanchell of the wyndowe to another. And over against the carrells against the church wall did stand staine great almeries of wainscott all full of bookes.

In the west alley the novices were taught. The east alley was glazed with pictured glass, showing forth the story of Saint Cuthbert from the day of his nativity and birth unto his dying day. And there you should have seen and beheld his mother lying in her childbed after she was delivered. The bright beams did shine from heaven upon her and upon the child where he did lie in the cradle, that to every man's thinking the Holy Ghost had overshadowed him. Hither came on the Thursday before Easter, called Maundy Thursday, thirteen poor men to have their feet washed by the

prior. They sat upon a certain curiously carved bench which was brought from out the church. When the prior had washed their feet (which, it is true, had been washed before they came into the cloister), and had dried them with a towel and kissed them, he gave to each thirty pence and seven red herrings, and himself did serve them with drink and with three loaves of bread and with certain wafers. The like office was done by the monks for certain poor children in the south alley of the cloister.

The common dining-hall, called the frater-house, was to the south of the cloister. Just opposite to the door was a lavatory where the monks washed their hands. It was of octagonal form and projected into the cloister green. On either side of the frater door was an almerie or cupboard in which were hung the towels; "and all ye forepart of the almeries was thorowgh carved worke for to give ayre to the towels & iij dors in the forepart of either almerie, & a lock on every doure and every monke had a key."

The frater itself was a fine room about 75 feet long by 20 feet wide. It was panelled all round to the height of $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards, with panelling put up in 1518, 'finely carved & sett with Imbroidered work of Wainscott and guilted under the carved work,' and above the paneling a painting of Our Saviour and the Blessed Virgin and Saint John. The monks more commonly had their meals in another room called the loft, for there they were allowed meat and other relaxations not permitted in the frater. The great kitchen stands to the south of the frater.

On the west side of the cloister were the Common House and Threser-House. The common house was a room such as is found in all religious houses, and was sometimes called the warming-house. There was "a fyre kept in yt all wynter for ye mounckes to cum & warme them at, being allowed no fyre but that onely. Except

ye masters and officers of ye house who had there several fyres." There was belonging to it a garden and bowling alley "for the Nouvces Sume tymes to recreat theme selves when they had remedy of there master he standing by to se ther good order." In the same house also the Prior and Convent kept "the feast of O Sapientia, a solemn banquet of figs and raisens, cakes and ale, and thereof no superfluity or excess, but a scholastical and moderate congratulation amongst themselves."

The treasure-house was a strong place in which "all the Treasure was kept. And in the midst of it a very fair strong grate of iron set fast in the groundwork and in the roof of the house also, and likewise fast in either wall the breadth of the house (being very strong and not for any to break it) and in the midst of the grate a door of iron according to the workmanship of the grate and a strong lock on it, and two great slots of iron for the said door. And within the said grate a fair ivory squared table covered with a green cloth for the drawing and telling of their money." This was therefore one of those chequered tables used in medieval account-keeping. To this treasury the neighbouring gentry sent their title-deeds for safe keeping.

Though we of to-day should find the monk's life hard, there can be little doubt that in the time of our nameless historian its severities had become considerably relaxed. Their meals in the 'Loft,' their glazed windows, their carrells added not a little to their general comfort, and mitigated the awful cold which must have been one of the greatest trials of such a sedentary life in early times. The dormitory, which the monks called the 'dorter,' was in like manner fitted up for greater warmth, comfort, and privacy, "euery Mouncke having a litle chamber of Wainscott verie close seuerall by them selves [meaning each by himself] & ther wyndowes to-wardes ye cloyster, euery wyndowe servinge for one

Chamber . . . and in euery of ther wyndowes a deske to supporte there bookes for ther studdie. . . . Also in ye Dorter was euery nyght aboute 12 a clocke, a priuy searche by ye supperior, who did caule at euery Mounckes chambre by ther names to se good order keapt, yt none should be wanting as also yt ther were noe disorders amongst them."

And now, having got all the brethren safe in bed, we will so take leave of them.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF HENRY VIII

CHESTER. GLOUCESTER. PETERBOROUGH. BRISTOL.
OXFORD

THE FOUNDATIONS OF HENRY VIII

THESE five cathedrals, with the addition of Westminster, represent the modest residue that remained after the evaporation of Henry's magnificent promises. Six were founded: Westminster in 1540; Chester, Gloucester, and Peterborough in 1541; Bristol in 1542; and Oxford, with Osney abbey church as the cathedral, in 1542; Christ Church, Oxford, becoming the cathedral in 1545.

Four of these cathedrals had been the churches of Benedictine houses—Westminster, Chester, Gloucester, and Peterborough; two—Bristol and Oxford—belonged to canons regular of the Order of Saint Augustine. Such architectural characteristics as call for special remark have been referred to in the previous pages.

Westminster had but one bishop. On his translation to Norwich, the see lapsed. Bristol ceased to exist as a separate diocese, and was united with Gloucester, with the title Gloucester and Bristol, in 1836. It was re-established in 1897.

The new sees are here arranged in the order in which they were founded.

CHESTER

S AINT WERBURG, Abbess of Ely at the beginning of the eighth century, was buried at Hanbury in Staffordshire. But in 875 the Danes were ravaging Mercia, and the monks of Hanbury fled before them, carrying the shrine and relics of Saint Werburg to Chester. Here they were received in the ancient church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, which was rebuilt on a larger plan not long after. This second Saxon church was rebuilt in 1095 by Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, apparently under the influence of Anselm, and at the same time Benedictine monks were established in place of the secular canons who had hitherto served the church.

We know a good deal about the church of the Earl Hugh. We have the north transept, some foundations of the apse, and there are Norman remains right up to the west end. From these evidences we find that the plan was cross-shaped with a central tower. The presbytery was short, its aisle was continued round the main apse, and from the aisle there projected, it is almost certain, three semicircular chapels. The work was no doubt plain, but it was certainly massive: the piers of the apse were six feet in diameter. The transepts were very small; there were apses against their eastern walls. The nave was the same length as at present, and the aisles were stopped towards the west by towers. The stump of the northern tower remains, and it is practically certain that there was to have been a southern

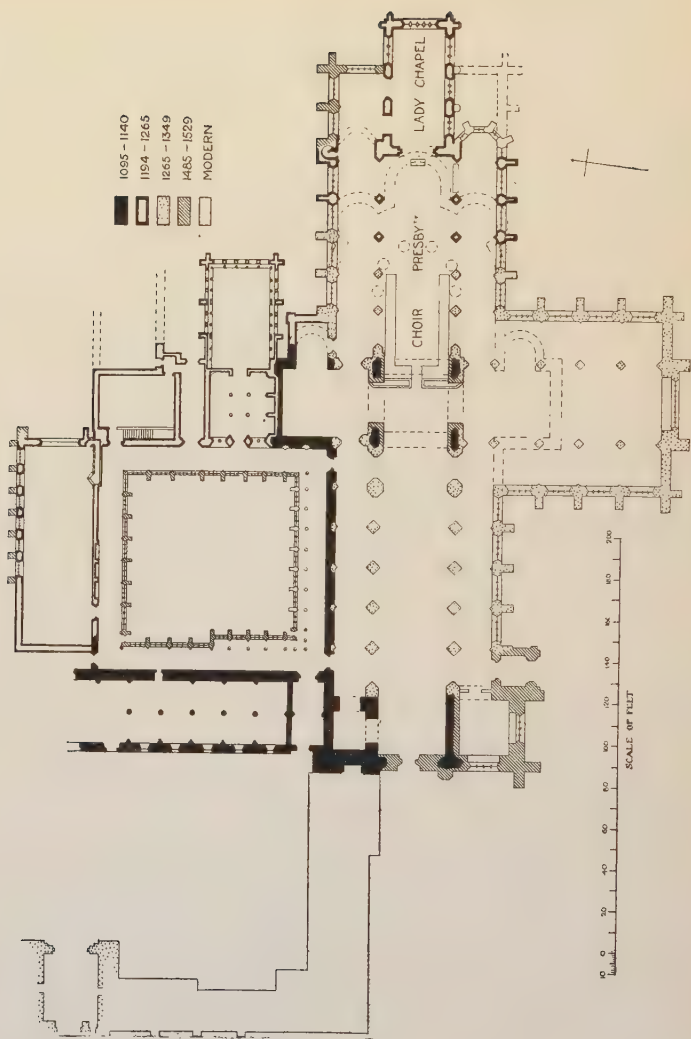


CHESTER FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

tower, for the Normans would never have built a lop-sided west front.

Such, at least, was the design of the Earl and Richard of Bec, the first abbot. The arches under the north-west tower are said to be by William, the second abbot (1121-40). It may well be that the work begun in 1095 was carried no further, for other cares had the abbots of Chester. The cloister and other buildings had to be provided for the brethren. And then the sea used to make inroads upon them, and so did the wild Welshmen from over the marches, and one did no less harm than the other. These affairs must have fully occupied the house for the rest of the twelfth century. And the church—so the old documents tell us—even became ruinous.

But in the time of Abbot Geoffrey (1194-1211) the rebuilding of the presbytery was begun. Although the choir was placed under the tower, and perhaps extended one bay into the nave, the old presbytery was found inconveniently short. And besides, short presbyteries and apses had gone out of fashion. The new presbytery was built near double the length of the old one, and an arch was made in the east wall forming an entrance into a Lady chapel beyond. Of course, the high altar was not placed against this arch as it is at present; it stood at least one bay farther west, and so did the Decorated sedilia till quite recently. Doubtless between the altar and the arch was placed the shrine of Saint Werburg. The building of this part of the church is recorded in what is called the Red Book of the Abbey, but the statements therein contained must be received with caution. The probability is that the whole work was planned and was begun by Abbot Geoffrey, and that it went on very slowly. Some of the actual work is of his period, while other parts take us by easy transitions right into the Decorated style of Abbot



CHESTER

Simon de Whitchurch (1265-82). The north and south sides of the presbytery are not exactly alike, and the two westernmost bays are clearly later. The architectural history is rather involved, and the drastic alterations and restorations to which the work has been subjected in our own days make it all the more difficult to read.

The Early English aisles terminated in polygonal apses. These were taken down in the fifteenth century, and the aisles were continued so as to overlap the Lady chapel, to which side entrances were made from the aisles. The windows of the Lady chapel were also filled with Perpendicular tracery. These things have been altogether reformed. The extension of the south aisle has been taken down and the apse has been rebuilt and crowned with an extraordinary erection like a spire, for which the architect found what he considered sufficient evidence. The Lady chapel has also become pure Early English once more; it has, however, kept its original stone vault. The vaults of the choir and other parts of the church have stone 'springers,' but from the point at which the spreading ribs get clear of each other the work is of wood. These ceilings are modern, but it is held by some authorities that it was from the first intended that they should be of timber.

If the monks of Chester in the first half of the thirteenth century failed to carry out their schemes very quickly, it was not for want of high endeavour, but rather perhaps because of the grandness of their ideas. At the very time that the presbytery and Lady chapel were building, important works were going on round the cloister.

The chapter-house is an excellent example of the work of this period. It occupies an unusual position in actually adjoining the church instead of being separated from it by a narrow passage. The monks'

dormitory occupied the upper story of the range to the east of the cloister, and it was important that this should actually abut upon the transept, or should at least have direct and easy access to it, for the convenience of the brethren when they left their beds to attend night services in the church. On this account it was inconvenient to intrude a chapter-house, which would preferably be somewhat lofty, into this range of building. It was, therefore, projected boldly eastwards, and was entered through a low vestibule. This vestibule is covered by a vault in nine square compartments; it is treated quite simply, and forms a very happy contrast with the stately room beyond. The arrangement recalls the later work at Westminster. The entry from the cloister was by the usual triple arrangement of a door with a window on each side, all open, the present door and glazing being modern. The beauty of the original work is rather marred by the clumsy way in which the late vaulting of the cloister cuts into the arches.

About this same time, but somewhat later, the dining-hall was built. The monks called it the 'Frater' (from old French *fraitur*, short for *refreitur*, from *refectorium*, a dining-hall). The most remarkable feature of this fine room is the lectern for the reader who, in accordance with the Benedictine Rule, read to the monks while at meals. The actual reading-place is bracketed out from the wall on a fine corbel, and is covered by a plain stone roof supported on two arches set angle-wise to one another and to the wall. It is reached by a staircase in the thickness of the wall, and this staircase is open to the frater by a series of ascending arches. The door in the corner of the hall led to this staircase, and was originally intended for no other purpose. The whole work has been put to rights in recent years; but its old whitewashed condition gave a

better idea of what its appearance must have been six hundred years ago. The frater was entered from the cloister; just to the right of the door are the three recesses, which contained the stone basin wherein the monks washed their hands.

To return to the abbey church. In the first half of the fourteenth century the Norman nave and transept of Earl Hugh were still standing. The north transept was confined by the cloister and the vestibule of the chapter-house, but it was decided to rebuild the south transept and the nave. The tower piers had been encased or rebuilt in the previous century, so that the proposed works would necessitate little or no interference with the monks' choir, which was still under the central tower, and possibly extended into the nave; it could be cut off by boarded partitions while the new works were in progress. The choir stalls with their elaborate and beautiful canopies were made about 1375.

The most remarkable part of the scheme was the great south transept, which is comparable in its dimensions with the nave. It has been something of a puzzle to historians partly on account of its size and partly because it was till recent times used as the parish church of Saint Oswald. But it is not clear that the monks were moved by any other considerations in building it than want of room for more altars, and by that infirmity to which all their order were especially liable, the lust of building. It has been thought that the parishioners of Saint Oswald's had rights in it because their church had been destroyed to make room for the transept. But this is hardly likely. The monks would probably have preferred to build them another church; the general policy of the 'Religious' was by no means in the direction of increasing parochial rights in their conventual churches; rather the con-

trary. It is possible that an old parish church which the convent was bound to maintain became ruinous at some post-Reformation time, and that the parishioners were given the use of the transept in lieu of it. There is a similar case at Ely.

The nave was probably begun at about the same time, and perhaps both nave and transept are the work of the abbot who succeeded Thomas de Byrchehylls in 1323. Both works seem to have been brought to a standstill prematurely and left incomplete. Now that the church has been so thoroughly restored this incompleteness is not very obvious, but in former days it was very marked. There can be little doubt that the work was interrupted by the great plague of 1349, that it was hastily covered in and finished, so far as it ever was finished, at a much later time. The transept had some fine flowing tracery, verging on the flamboyant, and a small part was vaulted. Of the nave the upper part was rebuilt or very much altered by Simon Ripley, abbot from 1485 till 1492. The capitals of the main piers on the north side have the initials S.R. among the foliage, so that either these capitals were inserted by Ripley—presumably because of some failure of the original capitals—or else the whole work was rebuilt from this level mostly with the old material. In this late work there is, of course, no relic of a triforium gallery: that is a feature which had been long since dropped. The nave vaulting has stone springers but, as noted above, the upper part has been recently executed in wood, in accordance with the original intention. Abbot Ripley's work included the rebuilding of the central tower, and this he seems to have finished. The rest of his work was carried on by his successor, John Birchenshaw, but was left unfinished.

Abbot Birchenshaw (1492 to *c.* 1529) built the west front, the south porch, and began in 1508 the long-

promised south-west tower. The west front, with its elaborate doorway and its great windowful of curious tracery, is very characteristic of the time. The tower became a Consistory Court, and was fitted up with good Jacobean woodwork.

The cloisters are probably the work of Ripley. They are interesting on account of the provision that was made for the carrels or little studies of the monks. These recessed windows extended along the south side, which has been destroyed and rebuilt, and along the south part of the west walk. It was quite in conformity with custom to put the carrels in the alley next to the church, but then the cloister was usually to the south of the church, so that this position would be pleasantly sunny and warm. But at Chester, where the south pane of the cloister is under the shadow of the church, it would have been more considerate to have made the carrels in the alley next to the frater, as was done under similar circumstances at Canterbury.

GLOUCESTER

MOST of our cathedral churches have some special characteristic which gives to each a particular reputation: beauty, size, historical association, or what not. Gloucester's chief claim to distinction is the place it fills in the architectural history of the country. A Norman church of no great size, yet with some claim to grandeur and in some respects a departure from the more usual lines, it underwent a remarkable transformation and became the birthplace of our later Gothic.

The monastery was of extreme antiquity, having been founded as a nunnery in 681. It did not escape the usual vicissitudes of the times: was deserted and refounded, given to secular priests and to Benedictines, and burnt.

The point at which history begins, so far as we are here concerned, is the year 1100, when the church, rebuilt after the fire of 1088, was dedicated by Abbot Serlo. This building, notwithstanding repeated fires, forms the bulk of such early work as now remains. The general idea of the plan was not dissimilar from some other great Norman churches. The choir was short, and terminated in an apse, the aisle was continued round the apse, and from it there projected three chapels, as at Norwich and Bury St. Edmunds. Under the whole of this part there is a crypt. Unlike Norwich and Bury the transepts were short; they had not aisles, but apses projected from their eastern sides.



GLOUCESTER FROM THE NORTH-WEST

The church differed also from most English Romanesque churches in being very short and wide. The plan, therefore, does not show the cross form very distinctly, and has, on paper, rather a French look. The nave was the same length as at present, and appears to have been terminated westwards by two towers or turrets. Owing to the position of the monastery in relation to the neighbouring streets, the cloister and other domestic buildings were placed on the north side of the church. Of these buildings the present chapter-house is contemporary with the Norman church.

A ground-plan of the church makes it appear as an almost complete and unaltered Norman building. Of course nothing could be further from the facts. The choir and transepts have been entirely masked by later work in a very curious way : masked so effectually that the first sight of them is as misleading as the plan.

The nave, although considerably altered, preserves in a great degree its Norman character. The design is remarkable for the striking development of the main arcade. As compared with most other work of the period it is extraordinarily lofty. At Winchester, for instance, and in the choir here, the main arcade, triforium, and clerestory are very nearly equal to one another in height. But in the nave here and at the neighbouring abbey of Tewkesbury the piers are carried to a great height, and the triforium is reduced from a lofty and spacious upper storey to a mere low passage. The treatment is perhaps a little forced ; it has not the happiness of Durham, which hits the perfect mean ; and there is a little lack of unity between the arch and column. The clerestory has been a good deal altered ; the vault is of the thirteenth century, and is not perfectly comfortable in its relations with the earlier work.

Not very much is known of Abbot Serlo beyond what we could gather from his grand buildings. He

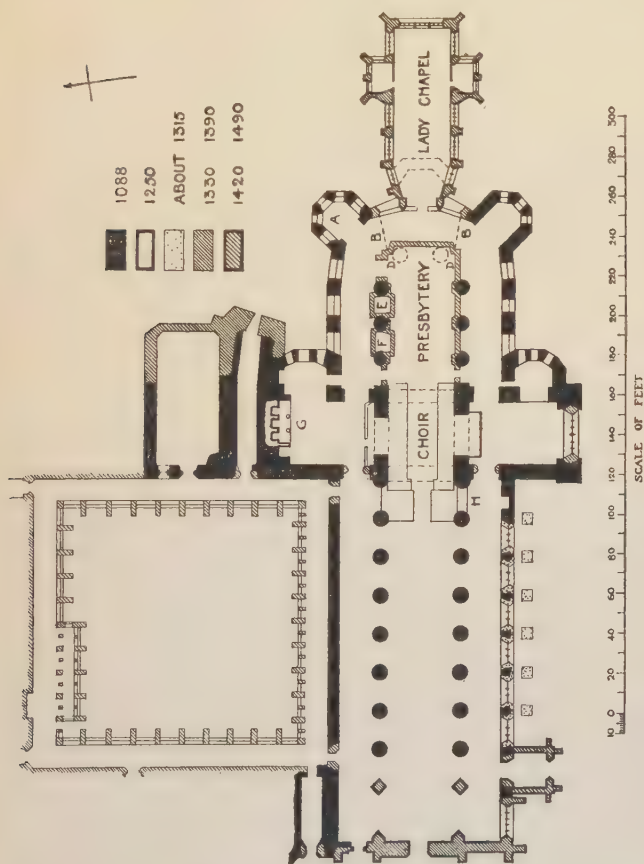
was a Norman, and had been chaplain to Duke William before he became King of England. At the time of his appointment there were but two monks of full age in the house, but under his vigorous administration its prosperity was firmly established, and the number of monks rose to over a hundred. He was a man of strong will and high personal character.

During the twelfth century the church suffered from fire on three occasions. The last was in 1190. The church was rededicated in 1239. With the exception of the nave vault, which the chronicler tells us the monks did with their own hands, no great work of the thirteenth century remains. The structure known as the Reliquary against the north wall of the north transept appears to belong to about the middle of the century. Its real use is not known; perhaps some relics were preserved in it.

The great period at Gloucester set in at the very beginning of the fourteenth century with the abbacy of John Thokey (1306-29). He transformed the south aisle of the nave, casing the outside and building small flying buttresses. The work has some excellent qualities, but is characterized by a far too lavish use of the ball-flower ornament.

John Thokey was the abbot who in his own carriage brought from Berkley Castle the body of the murdered Edward II, in 1327. It may be doubted whether the abbot was so shrewd as to foresee the reaction in favour of the King which would follow his death, and pursued a deliberate policy in order to reap advantage from it. But the reaction came, and came quickly. Innumerable pilgrims, from Edward III downwards, made their offerings at his tomb, a wonder of tabernacle work, rich but not really effective, which the young king built at his own cost. Beneath the confusion of pinnacles is a very admirable effigy with a beautiful face. And

so Abbot Thokey before his death, two years later, must have seen the beginning of that great accumulation of wealth which was to transform the church.



GLOUCESTER. A abbot Boteler's chapel, with monument of Robert Curthose. B lines showing plan of clerestory. C monument of King Osric. D, D former positions of columns of Norman apse. E monument of King Edward II. F of Abbot Parker. G reliquary. H chantry chapel of Abbot Seabroke (1457).

The transformation was begun by John Wygemore (1329-37), Thokey's successor, who refaced the south transept. It is here that we see the first indication of that tendency to continue and emphasize the vertical line which was to become the most obvious character-

istic of our late Gothic. Thus this change was begun and developed at Gloucester near half a century earlier than in other parts of the country. The ceiling of the south transept is an elaborate and skilfully worked example of the lierne vault.

Wygemore died in 1337, and the two abbots who succeeded him, Adam de Staunton (1337-51) and Thomas de Horton (1351-77), began and completed the transformation of the choir under the central tower and of the presbytery and north transept. This extraordinary work was begun by taking down everything to the level of the sills of the clerestory windows. Probably the Gloucester clerestory, like most Norman clerestories, was a rather light affair. But the triforium, although with larger openings and less mass of wall than the triforium of the nave, was still a solid thing; it was, moreover, covered by a continuous half barrel vault, a very rare if not unique feature, acting as a continuous flying buttress. Below this there were, of course, the massive main piers and the aisle vault. The pulling down therefore stopped short of the triforium except at the east end, where the whole apse of the presbytery itself, but not the apse of the aisle, was entirely destroyed. Then began the building up of a thin framework of masonry in front of the Norman piers and arches, designed with extraordinary ingenuity in such a way that without hiding the original arrangement it entirely altered its character. The Norman piers and the wall spaces over the arches are indeed refaced, but they are only altered in surface modelling, not in mass or essential form. No arch is blocked, nor is it even altered in shape. The whole effect is produced by, as it were, beginning the window mullions at the very floor and carrying them up right in front of round arches and wall surfaces. The transoms of the east window are made to correspond with the horizontal lines in the lateral

walls, and scale and unity are maintained throughout the work by a thousand devices.

The presbytery was extended eastwards right up to the outer wall of the Norman ambulatory or apse-aisle. The designer has handled this part with remarkable confidence and sureness of touch. In several respects he boldly departed from precedent. Thus the great window itself is not in one plane, but takes the form of a very flat bow. This adds not a little to its stability. Its width being some 37 feet and its height from the floor 80 feet, a considerable degree of massiveness was nevertheless required. And so two of its thirteen mullions are developed externally into buttresses of no mean size, and are carried boldly in front of the arch up to the top of the gable. Then again, in order to get the utmost possible width for the window, the side walls of the last bay are splayed out. The glass dates from about 1350.



GLOUCESTER VAULTING

The choir and presbytery were ceiled with a lierne vault of extraordinary complexity. The ridges of the cross vaults are a good deal lower than the main ridge, with the result that the barrel form is emphasized. Under the central tower one group of ribs springs from a rather low point over the centre of side arches. This difficulty was met by building a light stone rib some distance below the arch, and carrying up from its apex a shaft to act as, or at least to look like, a vaulting shaft. The contrivance is not beautiful, but it is in harmony with the intrepid spirit of the rest of the work, and is thoroughly characteristic of the Gloucester masonry.

For the Gloucester masons were full of the spirit of their age, and their age was an age of adventure. This was the time of the traceries of York and Carlisle, of the spire of Salisbury balanced on its slender stilts, of the Ely lantern hanging in mid-air, and of the colossus stride of Westminster Hall.

The latter of these two great abbots, Thomas de Horton (1351-77), began to rebuild the cloister, which is justly considered one of the glories of Gloucester. Its vault is another first instance of a new style almost mature at birth. The old method of rib and web construction has given way to a new system of construction in which the ribs are purely decorative and the 'vault conoid' becomes a homogeneous mass.

After the weak rule of Abbot Boyfield the cloister was completed by Abbot Walter Froucester (1381-1412), the nominal chronicler of the Abbey. Froucester, pronounced Froster, is the name of a village a few miles down the river. The surrounding buildings are early, but their walls were refaced; the new work both in window and vault is extremely rich. Along the south side (that next to the church) the windows are recessed so as to form carrels or studies for the monks. In other houses the alley next the church was the place where the monks read, but in most cases the cloister was to the south of the church, so that the brethren had the most sheltered part of the cloister. The Gloucester monks must have had rather cold quarters. The north pane of the cloisters with its 'sunny aspect' was not available for the carrels because a half of its outer wall was projected to form a lavatory. The common dining-hall lay to the north of the cloister, and it was customary, and obviously convenient, to place the lavatory near the hall door. The Gloucester lavatory is the finest example of a monastic lavatory remaining in England. The windows have been decorated by a highly ingenious

glass painter of the nineteenth century with 'watery' episodes from the life of our Lord. The wall opposite to the lavatory has a recess in which the towels hung. In the north-west corner bay of the cloister is the door to the hall. The whole cloister has been adorned with coloured glass, and the total blocking out of the prospect has a rather depressing effect.

Froucester was a strong man. He raised the prestige of the abbey, wiped off an enormous debt, made many gifts to the church out of his private fortune, obtained from the Pope the appropriation of several churches, compiled and edited the records of the house, and set things in order generally. Before he had been many years abbot he obtained from the Pope, through the influence of the Duke of Gloucester, the much-coveted right to wear the pontifical mitre, ring, sandals, and dalmatic. Five and twenty abbots and three priors finally obtained this privilege—a small proportion of the whole number. Of the present cathedrals which were formerly abbey or priory churches those of Canterbury, Durham, Gloucester, Peterborough, St. Albans, and Worcester obtained the grant. Finally, this most worthy man secured a dispensation allowing the brethren to eat meat from Septuagesima to Quinquagesima.

Turn we now once more to the church. Abbot John Morwent (1420-37) rebuilt the west end and the two westernmost bays. This part has rich vaults not unlike those of the fourteenth century. The south porch, which is also Morwent's, is, however, a more original and interesting piece of work. After Morwent came Abbot Boteler (1437-50). The Norman north-east chapel of the apse was altered and decorated as a memorial to him. In it is the oak effigy of Robert Curthose, eldest son of the Conqueror. To Boteler succeeded Thomas Seabroke (1450-57); building work then began again, and must have gone on almost continuously till

near the end of the century. Seabroke built the finely composed central tower with its remarkably light open-work pinnacles. His mutilated monument and chantry chapel are in the east bay of the south aisle. His successors, Richard Hanby (1457-72) and William Farley (1472-98), began and finished the Lady chapel. This is a fine piece of work, quite in harmony with the choir. It is flanked by two interesting little chapels with upper storeys called 'singing galleries.' The chapel is entered by a low vaulted vestibule, over which is a vaulted room, forming apparently an abbots' pew. The Lady chapel is covered with a good lierne vault, and preserves its old tile pavement of many devices. It has been sadly mutilated, but has some of the old glass and fragments of old wall colouring. It must have been glorious in its former state, with all its storied windows richly dight.

The monastery was surrendered to the King in 1541 by Abbot William Parker, or Malverne, whose monument is on the north side of the presbytery between those of King Edward II and King Osric, the seventh-century founder of the nunnery. The first bishop was consecrated in the same year. The old church of Saint Peter was newly dedicated to The Holy and Undivided Trinity—a dedication to which pious King Henry professed a peculiar devotion.

PETERBOROUGH

ALTHOUGH comparatively modern as a cathedral, Peterborough is one of the very oldest of monastic foundations. About the year 655 Saxulf, who is said to have been a rich thegn of the fenland, founded a monastery at Medeshamstede, where the river Nen leaves the high ground and falls into the fen. The foundation was favoured by the kings of Mercia, and Saxulf became its first abbot. The church was dedicated about the year 657 to Saint Peter, Saint Paul and Saint Andrew, by Deusdedit, Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by many bishops and in the presence of the King.

The fenland monasteries of East Anglia fell an easy prey to the Danes. Medeshampstead was attacked by them in 870, after they had destroyed the neighbouring Crowland, and Bardney and Ely fell about the same time. During the attack on Medeshampstead the brother of the Danish leader was killed, and after that what little hope of mercy there can ever have been vanished. Every one was put to the sword.

The minster lay waste and deserted for nearly a hundred years. It was refounded in 966 by Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester, the reviver of Benedictinism under King Eadgar. The place was then sometimes called Gildenburgh, from the gold which shone upon the roof; whence we might suppose that the roof of the new building was covered with lead, a material very much in favour even in those early days, and had an ornamental and gilded ridge-cresting. All of which

is quite possible; but almost certainly the name has no reference whatever to gold. The more general name was Peterborough, from the dedication of the church to Saint Peter. It is probably the foundations of this church rather than the original building by Saxulf that may still be seen under the floor of the present church.

At the time of the Conquest the abbey was ruled by the powerful Leofric, nephew of Earl Leofric, and in high favour both with the Confessor and with Harold. He was abbot, it is said, of Burton, Coventry, Crowland, and Thorney at the same time that he held Peterborough. The abbot and his monks are found fighting at Hastings; Leofric himself was wounded, and died at his abbey a few weeks later. The monks, true to the national cause for which their head had died, at once elected their provost, Brand, as his successor, and sent him to Edgar the Atheling for the confirmation of his appointment. As might be expected, this calm ignoring of the Conqueror's claim to the crown roused him to wrath, and the monks only bought their forgiveness by a gift of forty marks of gold. But they were allowed to keep the abbot of their choice. Abbot Brand, however, died in 1069, and William gave the post to a Norman follower, Turolde, formerly a monk of Fécamp, and now Abbot of Malmesbury. It is said that William chose him as being more soldier than monk, and consequently the type of man he wanted at Peterborough, so near to Ely, still held by the redoubtable Hereward. Hereward indeed already threatened Peterborough from his island stronghold. Turolde set out for his new charge with a hundred and sixty armed Normans, but before he arrived Hereward, with the Danes under Sweyn, had already sacked and burnt the monastery. The monks were scattered, and the rich booty was carried off by the Danes and outlaws.



PETERBOROUGH. WEST FRONT

Then early in the morning came all the outlaws with many ships, and wished to go into the minster, but the monks withstood them, so that they might not come in. Then they laid fire on, and burnt down all the monastic house and all the town except one house. Then they came in through the fire by the Bolhithe gate, and the monks came and met them and asked for peace, but they cared for nought, but went into the minster and climbed up to the Holy Cross and took from our Lord's Head the Crown, all of wrought gold, and they took from under His feet the footmark that was all of red gold, and climbed up to the steeple and took down the crozier that was hidden there. It was all of gold and silver, and they took thence two gold caskets and nine of silver, and they took fifteen great crosses, both of gold and silver, and so many treasures of money, of vestments, and of books as no man may count, and they said they did it from loyalty to the minster. They then betook themselves to their ships and went home to Ely (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*).

When Turolde came he found one sick monk in the infirmary and the empty church standing in the midst of the blackened ruins of the monastery.

The 'very stern' Turolde ruled over the abbey and, no doubt, over the whole neighbourhood till his death in 1100. Then the monks having, by the payment of a heavy fine, obtained leave to elect their own abbot, chose Godric, the brother of Abbot Brand. It was he who in synod at Westminster denounced "the wicked merchandize by which men were still used to be sold in England like brute beasts." After Godric all the abbots were of Norman blood.

The Saxon church is said to have continued in use notwithstanding Hereward and his allies, and it was not till an accidental fire destroyed a great part of the monastery in 1116 that the present building was begun. The choir and the eastern aisle of the transept were built between that date and 1133; some part of the new building is said to have been consecrated in 1140 or 1143; the body of the transept, and probably a small part of the nave, was built between 1155 and 1177; the remainder of the nave, including the west transept, between 1177 and 1193; and the

great west portico in the first decade or two of the thirteenth century.

The old Saxon church had been cruciform in plan, with a very small square-ended presbytery, and a comparatively large transept. No remains of the nave have been found. The new building, being the work of the Normans, had an apsidal east end. The aisles, as well as the presbytery proper, each had an apse, but they were probably square-ended externally, in the manner of St. Albans. These aisle apses were destroyed when the present square east aisle was built in the fifteenth century. In one of the three archways, which were then cut in the wall of the great apse, stands an ancient monument on which the date, 870, has been carved on it by a modern hand; it is really, however, of the early part of the twelfth century, and it may be the monument of an early abbot. It is of one stone, three feet long, about the same height, and one foot wide. The sides are sculptured with twelve figures, probably representing our Lord and His Apostles, and the top, which slopes from a ridge like the roof of a house, is also rudely carved.

The transept has an eastern aisle only, but against the west wall of the southern arm there is a contemporary building, forming a sort of aisle separated from the transept, somewhat like that at Ely. The eastern aisle is divided by screen-walls of contemporary date to form a series of chapels; the aumbries and brackets belonging to the altars may still be seen. The flat wood ceilings of the transept are of the Norman period, unaltered, and with their original painted decoration.

The Norman church had a central tower built about the middle of the twelfth century. This was taken down and rebuilt near the middle of the fourteenth century; perhaps the fall of the central tower of Ely in 1320 gave the monks a fright. However that may

be, the tower was taken down to and including the east and west arches, while the north and south arches were strengthened by pointed relieving-arches. The new tower was lightly built and has a wood vault. Notwithstanding this the weight proved too much for the Norman piers, which had been left standing. Those, together with the whole tower, have been taken down within the last few years and rebuilt, with the exception of the lofty angle turrets, which were condemned as ugly and were omitted.

From the east wall of the north transept there projected a very large Lady chapel built in the latter part of the thirteenth century, and destroyed, along with the great cloister, in 1651, in order, it is said, that the materials might be used in repairing the damage done by Cromwell's soldiers. Entrance to the Lady chapel was by an external north door, a west door from the transept, and, through a vestibule, from the aisle of the presbytery. Next to the vestibule and filling part of the narrow space between the aisle and the Lady chapel was a chantry chapel, over which there was a cell for a female recluse—the last person one would expect to find in a monastery of men.

The work of building the new church continued steadily westwards, and the nave was completed in the latter part of the twelfth century. Its two easternmost bays, as well as the space under the tower, were occupied by the stalls of the monks, and the third bay by the pulpitum. The aisles have vaults of stone with heavy ribs, but the nave is covered by a remarkable wood ceiling of the Norman period, decorated with colour, and is divided into a series of lozenges containing figures, grotesques and scroll-work. It is decidedly more curious than beautiful. It is said that the ceiling was originally flat, and that its present form with canted sides is due to the necessity of raising the central part

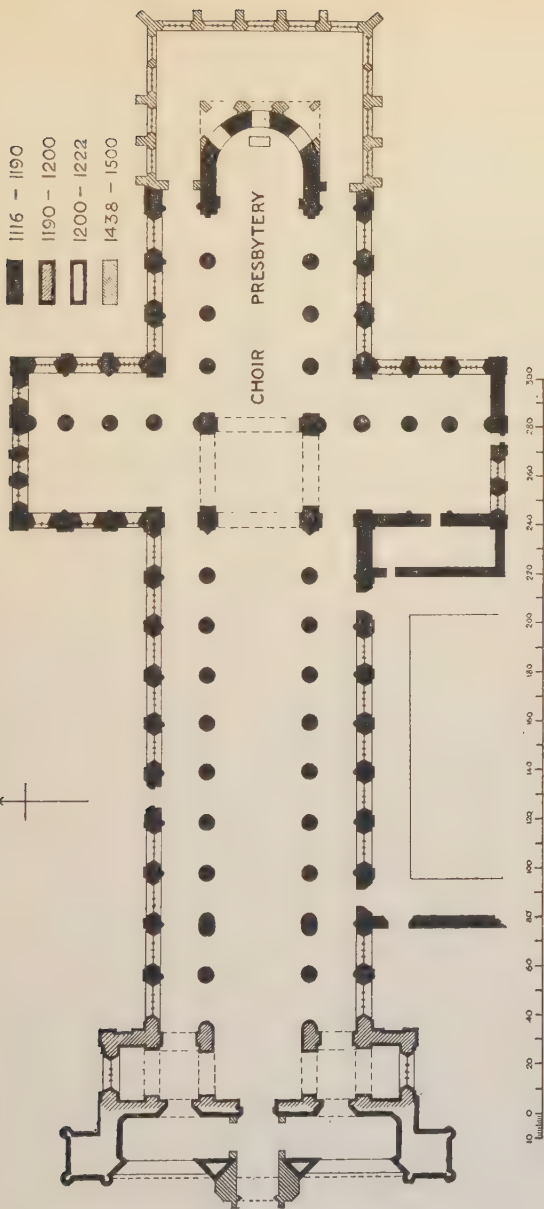
to clear the west arch of the tower when that was made pointed instead of round.

It is thought that the original west end was two bays farther back than the present wall, and it will be noticed that the third pair of piers are larger than the others, suggesting the termination of the arcades or the intention of building small west towers. Whether or not the west wall was ever actually built, the work was carried on almost continuously two bays farther west, the last bay forming part of a small west transept and supporting small towers. Only one of these towers, the northern, has been finished. It is an admirable and very simple piece of work, with octagonal turrets rising into very light, open pinnacles. The transept projecting slightly north and south beyond the towers, is furnished at the angles with similar turrets and pinnacles. The west end as thus arranged would no doubt have presented a very beautiful though modest façade.

It was, however, soon to be superseded and hidden by the far more ambitious and original creation which forms the chief glory of Peterborough. This great portico, with its three lofty arches, is one of the boldest conceptions of our medieval builders and one of the most poetical. It came perhaps in the very nick of time. It was built, it is thought, between 1200 and 1222. It is pure Gothic in form and retains in its details and execution no trace of its Romanesque parentage; but it has all the courage and carelessness of youth. A few years earlier and it would have been rude; a few years later and it would have been more scholarly but more sophisticated. The designer played with his work in happy mood without troubling himself about details. He had never heard of the value of omission, and his ornaments are somewhat inconsequential, as ornaments are liable to be in work of this period. But to call in question, as others use, the logic of the whole



- 1116 - 1190
- 1190 - 1200
- 1200 - 1222
- 1438 - 1500



SCALE OF FEET

PETERBOROUGH

idea, suggests an insensativeness to its beauty and romance.

The intrusion, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, of a small porch with a room over it, within the centre arch of the great portico, is with many a subject of regret. But this is a mistaken view. The addition is not by any means an unmitigated misfortune. Not only is the porch an excellent piece of work in itself, but it acts as a foil both in scale and in treatment to the earlier work.

Peterborough has been singularly little altered since it was first built by the Normans, except, of course, in the matter of destruction of furniture since the Reformation, in which respect it has been severely handled. The only considerable alteration is at the east end. At the very end of the Gothic period the apses of the aisles were destroyed, and a wide, square-ended aisle was built across the east end. Begun in 1438, the work came to a standstill from some cause or another, and was not resumed—probably on account of the Wars of the Roses—till the close of the fifteenth century. It was finished by Abbot Kirton (1496–1528), and his rebus, a kirk on a tun, may be seen among its carvings. The New Building, as it has always been called, was no doubt intended to serve the double purpose of providing more space for altars and a continuous procession-path round the east end. It is a very excellent example of the period. The fan-traceried vault is particularly admirable, and has been pronounced by Professor Willis, the great authority on the subject, to be the best in workmanship of any vault that he had examined. In judging of this work it must be remembered that buildings of this period suffer more from the destruction of their painted glass windows, furniture and various accessories than those of any earlier time.

Near by, in the north aisle of the presbytery, is the

grave of Queen Catherine of Aragon, now covered by a simple slab of stone—the only monument of interest that now remains in the church.

Little of interest remains outside the walls of the church. The cloister has been entirely destroyed, and so have all the buildings which surrounded it. On the south side is the north wall of the refectory, against which the south pane of the cloister was built. It contains a fine range of lavatory basins, in which the monks washed their hands. The entrance gateway to the precincts from the town is coeval with the church, but with a west front added in the middle of the fourteenth century, and an additional story of the fifteenth. Here, it is said, all visitors of whatever rank put off their shoes as they approached 'proud Peterborough.' Just within this gateway there is another of early date, which formed the entrance to the abbot's house; its front has two niches, in which are statues, grave and weather-worn.

BRISTOL

IN the days of Henry I and Stephen there lived in Bristol one Robert, called Fitzharding, being the second son of Harding, the son of Eadnoth, Master of the Horse to Edward the Confessor. Robert Fitzharding was a man of great wealth, owning various parcels of land in the neighbourhood as well as properties in other counties. He was also Provost of Bristol—for this was before the time of mayors. In 1142 Fitzharding was moved to found a monastery of Augustinian Canons on a piece of land just outside the town, and six years later the church, it is said, was so far advanced as to be ready for consecration. But in 1154 Henry II became king, and in the following year rewarded Fitzharding for the help that he had given him in former days with the forfeited lordship of Berkeley Hernesse; Robert Fitzharding became the founder of the present family of Fitzharding, lords of Berkeley. The grant enabled the provost greatly to enlarge his first endowment and to build on a grander scale. He ultimately became a Black Canon himself, and died in the house in 1170. At the time of the consecration in 1148 six canons had been brought from a house of the Order at Wigmore, away among the hills of Herefordshire. The number was afterwards increased, probably at the time of the enlargement of the foundation, though it seems never to have exceeded seventeen. Notwithstanding the scantiness of these numbers the Pope conferred upon the abbots, during the abbacy of John Snow (1332-41), the right



BRISTOL FROM THE NORTH-EAST

to wear the mitre, a privilege which greatly enhanced their dignity and prestige.

We know very little about the church built by the founder and his immediate successors. Some parts of it remain in either transept, and there is a fragment in a staircase in the north wall of the north choir aisle. Nothing is known of the east end, but it is conjectured that it was square, as the Augustinians, now but lately introduced into England, preferred that form to the monkish apse.

The only notable piece of Norman work left to us is the chapter-house. This building, although reduced to two-thirds of its original length, is a striking piece of work. It is entered through a low vestibule vaulted in six compartments. The chapter-house itself was originally a parallelogram 65 feet long by 25 feet wide. It is covered with a groined vault, formerly in three bays, with enriched ribs, and the whole of the wall-surfaces are covered with arcades and diaper. The lower arcade forms a continuous series of recessed seats, unbroken by the piers which carry the vaulting, and it has been complained, with some justice, that this produces an ill effect. The number of seats provided for the six or seven canons appears to have been sixty or seventy. The work is supposed to date from between 1160 and 1170. The masonry of the fine archway to Lower College Green is of about the same date, but it is believed to have been rebuilt in the fifteenth century.

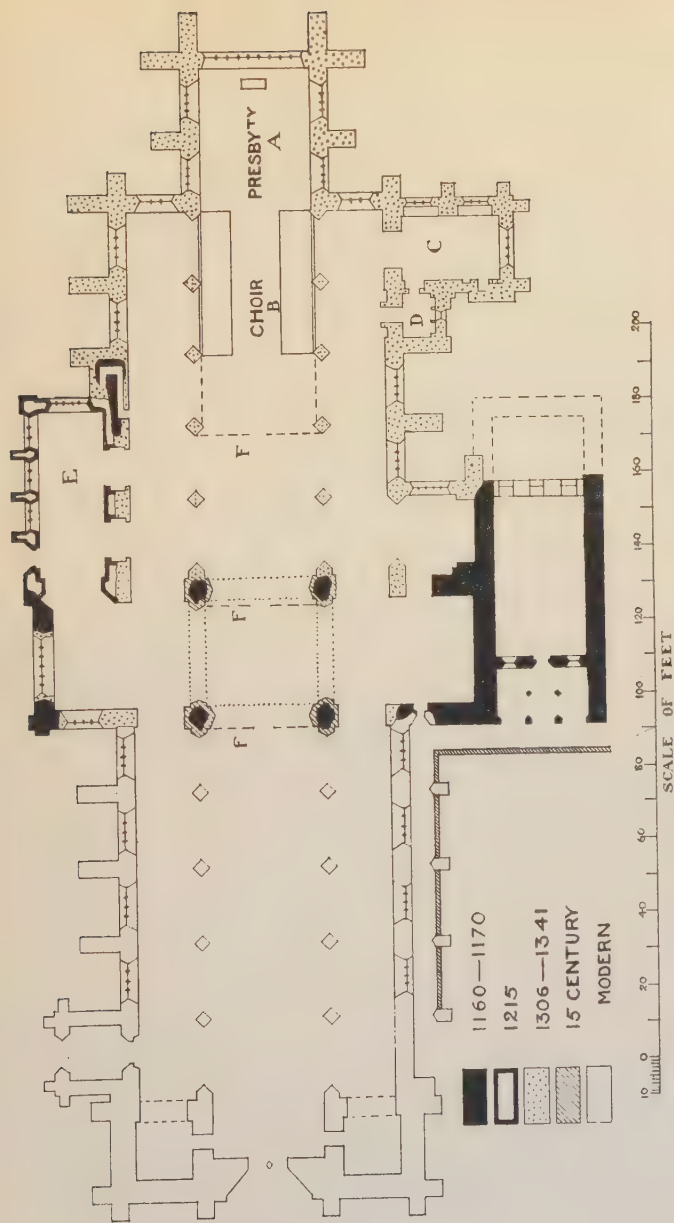
A slight addition was made to the church in the early part of the thirteenth century. This is the small chapel to the north of the presbytery, known as the Elder Lady chapel. Some slight alterations were also made in the transepts.

It was not till the fourteenth century that the canons of Saint Augustine's set about rebuilding and enlarging their Norman choir. Possibly, in spite of the munificence

of the founder, they wanted for funds, for they seem to have had no shrine of any saint to provide an attraction to pilgrims. It was in the abbacy of Edmund Knowle (1306-32) that the rebuilding was begun. It is probable that the new work east of the Norman presbytery was begun and carried pretty far before the old work was disturbed. When that rebuilding was begun the Norman foundations, and to some extent the Norman walls, were retained and used.

It is the treatment of this part that gives to Bristol its most remarkable quality. The aisles are of equal height with the choir itself, thus there is no triforium or clerestory, the whole being lighted by the large windows of the aisles. The central part is covered with a lierne vault of unusual though not remarkable design. But the vaulting of the aisles is peculiar. It consists of a series of pointed barrel vaults carried on arches which cross the aisle from every column. The lower part of the vault is indeed treated as groining, being cut by two little cross vaults above the transverse arches, and the ribs of these are continued up along the barrel-surface of the upper part; but there is nothing peculiar in this; it may be seen on a large scale in the south transept here, or in the choir vault of Gloucester, or the nave vault of Winchester. The difference between these and the Bristol choir aisles is in the arrangement of the bays; in the latter the axis of each barrel runs across the aisle, whereas at Gloucester and Winchester and in the Bristol transept there is one continuous barrel, the axis of which coincides with the main axis of the building.

As regards the ritual arrangement it is thought that the high altar, which in Norman times had been between the second pair of piers east of the tower, was moved, when Knowle's building was finished, two bays farther east, thus leaving one bay behind it as a procession-



BRISTOL. A presbytery, formerly Lady chapel. B choir, formerly presbytery. C Berkley chapel. D sacristy.
E elder Lady chapel. F former positions of choir screen.

path and two bays for the Lady chapel. The choir stalls, which in Norman times seem to have been under the tower, probably occupied the two westernmost bays next to the tower. These various parts were under one unbroken roof but were separated by substantial screens. The choir was enclosed by a screen under the east arch of the tower, and on this was the loft containing the rood. Then at the back of the high altar there was a reredos forming a screen between the presbytery and the procession-path. Between the procession-path and the Lady chapel there was another screen, over which was a loft containing organs.

The architectural details of Abbot Knowle's work are as remarkable as the general conception. The east window of the Lady chapel has extraordinary and not very satisfactory tracery, but very lovely glass. Below it is a reredos restored from mutilated fragments; to the south are sedilia, and on either side are tomb recesses. All these are rich work, very characteristic of the period in point of detail, but in their general design forming a remarkable departure from the accepted types, and showing, as has been suggested, some foreign influence. The tomb recesses are peculiar to Bristol, except for one instance, probably copied from them, at Saint David's. The sedilia are of the same character, and show the same lack of restraint.

From the south aisle of the choir a low building projects, now called the Berkeley chapel; it originally contained two altars separated by a screen. Under an arch in the wall between the chapel and the aisle is the monument of Thomas Lord Berkeley (d. 1321). Adjoining the chapel there is an interesting little building now serving as a vestibule; this was the sacristy of the abbey church. Its vaulted roof is noteworthy even at Bristol, where no vault is ordinary. The

recesses or cupboards which its walls contain leave no doubt as to its use. One is tall and narrow, and is suitable for the crozier of the abbot and for the staves of processional crosses. Another contains a less common feature—a hearth, from which a flue ascends, on which to bake the bread for Sacrament. Near the elaborated entrance to this room are two more of those remarkable tomb recesses which are seen in the Lady chapel. They contain the effigies of two more Lords Berkeley in armour, which antiquaries delight to describe, and with their Fitzharding shields upon their arms.

Abbot Knowle reigned over his monastery from 1306 till 1332, so that he was no doubt able to bring to completion all the eastern part of his church. His work was continued by his successor, Abbot John Snow (1332-41), who remodelled the Norman transepts. The rich lierne vaults are later. They are the work of Abbot Newland (1481-1515), or of Abbot Elliot (1515-26). This type of vault has, for want of a name, been already described in an attempt to explain the vaults of the choir aisles. The central tower is thought to have been rebuilt by Abbot Newbury (1428-63). The Norman piers on which it stands were altered at the same time, or earlier, by cutting away the surface and working new mouldings on the old masonry. But both these works—the alteration of the piers and the rebuilding of the tower—have also been attributed to Abbot Walter Newland, or Nailheart (1481-1515). This abbot's effigy is in one of the starlike recesses of the Lady chapel, where his rebus, a heart pierced with three nails, may be seen. Writers have pointed out that this must not be confounded with the heart pierced with three swords, which occurs among the implements of the Passion on the transept vault.

The nave of Bristol is quite modern, having been designed by G. E. Street in 1866. It is in its main

lines a continuation of the choir and presbytery. In regard to the old nave there has been much discussion as to when and why it was destroyed ; the general upshot seems to be as follows. The rebuilding of the twelfth-century nave was included in Abbot Knowle's scheme, but he did nothing towards carrying out this part. The original nave of Transitional character stood until the time of Abbot Newland (1481-1515), who began to rebuild it. Instead of taking it down bit by bit, and rebuilding it as funds allowed, he destroyed the whole. He and his successors carried up the new walls outside the old as high as the sills of the windows, but the work got no further before the Reformation came. Henry VIII made the church the cathedral of a new diocese, but the continuation of the work was, of course, impossible. The unfinished walls were used as quarries for other buildings, and nothing but the foundations were left. We are therefore without any knowledge of either earlier or later nave, except such as can be gained from the description which William of Worcester, a Bristol man, wrote about 1478. Some of the foundations have been found in recent times, but it does not appear that they have been accurately described or plotted.

The story of Bristol Cathedral, forms a not unimportant chapter in the history of English architecture, but unfortunately it has been obscured through the destruction by the rioters of 1831 of all the documents in the possession of the bishop and of the chapter.

OXFORD

SINCE the days of Henry VIII this tiny building has been, as all the world knows, both the cathedral church of the diocese and the chapel of the royal foundation of Christ Church. Until the time of Cardinal Wolsey it was the church of a religious house founded in the eighth century by Saint Frideswide, a well-born lady of Oxford. The nuns established by Frideswide were succeeded by Secular Canons. In the early years of the eleventh century their church was burnt by the Danes, and was, it is said, rebuilt by King Ethelred II (978-1016). Some foundations of an early church were discovered in 1887, and these have been identified by some with the eleventh-century building of Ethelred, by others with the eighth-century church of Saint Frideswide. They show the building to have consisted of a nave and transept, each of which had an apse towards the east, the central one projecting somewhat farther east than the other two. The church occupied the position of the two aisles immediately to the north of the present choir. It was on a most diminutive scale, each division being barely 9 feet wide.

In 1122 the house was given to the 'excellent scholar,' Guimond, or Wimond, chaplain to King Henry Beauclerc. He established there Canons Regular of the Order of Saint Augustine, Henry's favourite order, in place of the old Secular Canons, and himself became their first prior. It was by his successor, Robert of Cricklade, or Canutus (1141), that the greater part of the buildings now

remaining were erected. The choir with its aisles, and the transepts with the chapel of Saint Lucy, were built by him. His nave consisted of seven bays, three of which were afterwards destroyed by Wolsey. The ritual choir doubtless extended into the nave and possibly as far as the present western limit of the church. If so, Wolsey destroyed only the ritual nave—that is, the part west of the pulpitum. The whole work must have been nearly, and the choir quite, finished by Philip, third prior, in 1180, for in that year the relics of Saint Frideswide were translated to a new shrine.

The most remarkable feature of the church is the peculiar arrangement of the nave arches and triforium. The two are, as it were, mingled. The main columns are carried up into the triforium, and the arches which spring from them embrace the triforium or blind arcade. Subordinate arches carrying the triforium arcade spring from subordinate capitals scarcely more than half-way up the columns. There is some crudeness in the way this is managed, but the device is bold. The problem was to give height and dignity to the main arcade, notwithstanding the lowness of the aisle vault. This difficulty was surmounted in a masterly though scarcely in a graceful fashion. The architect took the bull by the horns and left elegance to look after itself, somewhat in the way Sir Christopher Wren would have done a few centuries later.

The arches supporting the central tower are round towards the nave and choir, and pointed towards the transepts, but all are of the same date. The upper part of the tower, with its stone spire and pinnacles, was built in the early part of the thirteenth century, and is a good example of the style which characterizes the midland counties.

The nave and transept retain some of the original clerestory. It consists of the very common arrange-



OXFORD. ACROSS THE CHOIR

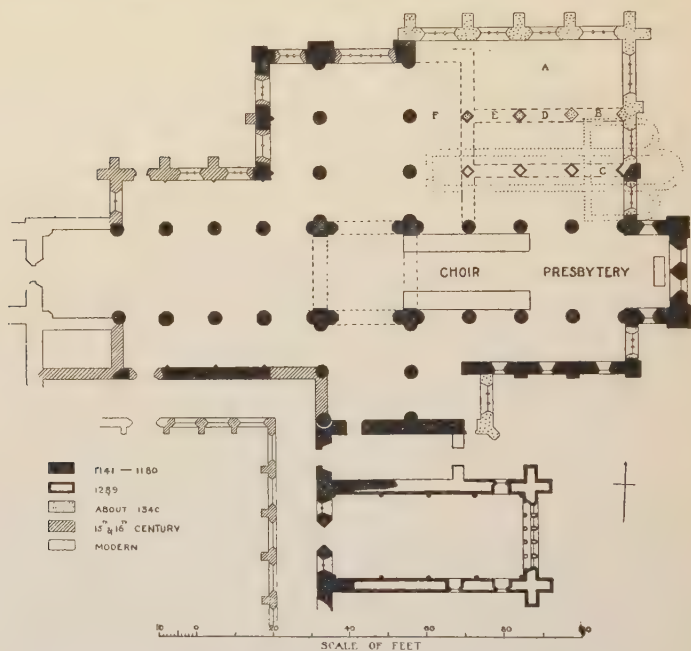
ment of a wide arch over a window with a narrow blind arch on each side. In this case the central arch is pointed and the side arches are round. The clerestory of the choir was altered when the fine vaulted ceiling was constructed. This famous work dates from the latter part of the fifteenth century. It much resembles the vault of the Divinity School, which was built in 1478. The beautiful vault is a good example of the work of the period: rich, ingenious, audacious, and showing complete mastery of the masons' craft.

The east end formerly had an "Early Decorated [late thirteenth century ?] window of five lights, reduced in the seventeenth century to three lights." This has been removed to make way for a conjectural restoration of the Norman work, "of which sufficient traces were discovered in the east wall." The choir contains a good Jacobean pulpit, altered in recent days; but the modern furniture is poor and very hard.

In the middle of the thirteenth century an additional aisle was built to the north of the choir. Columns and arches were built in place of the north wall of the original aisle, without disturbing the vault or vaulting shafts. Thus, much of the original character of the aisle was preserved, and we are able to compare its vault with that of the nave aisles; we see that the choir aisles are the earlier in character.

The new aisle formed a Lady chapel. The tracery of the east window is modern; the glass is by Morris and Burne-Jones and is good. On the completion of the chapel the relics of Saint Frideswide were removed (1289) to a new and elaborate shrine which had been prepared for them under the easternmost arch between the Lady chapel and the north aisle. Under the corresponding arch on the opposite side of the Lady chapel is a watching chamber erected in the fifteenth century for the accommodation of those whose duty it was to

keep guard over the costly shrine of the foundress. Watching chambers are now rare, but a good example, entirely of wood, may be seen at Saint Albans. Here the lower part is of stone, and forms, in fact, a monument to the donor of the watching chamber. The



OXFORD. A Latin chapel. B monument and watching loft for Saint Frideswide's shrine. C Saint Frideswide's shrine. D tomb of Elizabeth Lady Montacute (1353). E of Prior Sutton (1316). F of Sir George Nowers (1425).

chamber itself is a superstructure of wood and is approached by a stairway from the north.

Two or three other monuments may be noticed here as they are close by. Next to the watching chamber is a tomb bearing the effigy of Elizabeth, Lady Montacute (d. 1353). Her costume and those of the small

figures round the tomb are interesting to students of medieval dress. The next monument under a rich canopy is thought to be that of Prior Sutton (1294-1316). It retains the original iron fence, which is unusual, these protecting railings having been almost always removed during modern 'improvements.' In the westernmost arch is the tomb of Sir George Nowers (d. 1425), a companion of the Black Prince. The effigy on the tomb is fine, and the sculptor has done justice to Sir George's strong features. The body is in complete armour, and the head rests on the huge crest (a bull's head) of his tilting helmet. Much of the helmet itself is broken away, but enough remains to show the inside lining, contrived like that of some modern hunting hats. On a pier close by is a monument to Robert Burton, author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*.

Yet another aisle was built in the fourteenth century. It was added to the Lady chapel, much as the Lady chapel had been added to the original aisle, by building columns and arches in place of the wall, without disturbing the vault. This chapel was dedicated to the honour of Saint Catharine, but is more commonly known as the Latin chapel, from the Latin services formerly held in it. The vaulting is simple and graceful, with carved bosses; the window tracery varied and interesting. This chapel is one of the most pleasing parts of the church. All our medieval buildings have been so severely modernized that one loves to linger in any quiet corner that has been allowed to remain undisturbed. Here are the old stalls, the old brick pavement, the old throne, the old glass, the old communion table; to the right are the monuments and watching chamber already described. The stalls are a good example of Wolsey's work. The glass is admirable. Three windows contain excellent medieval work replaced here in recent times. The east window is a very interesting early

work of Burne - Jones, executed by Messrs. Powell, representing scenes from the life of Saint Frideswide. The colouring is not so satisfactory as in his mature work, but the treatment is full of force and originality. There is in the adjoining transept another example of the glass-painter's art of great boldness and power: the artists, Messrs. Clayton and Bell.

Crossing the transept and turning into the nave you pass the monument to Bishop Berkeley on one of the piers on the north side, and on the floor near by an inscription commemorative of Dr. Pusey. If you leave the church by the south door you find yourself in the very charming remains of the old cloister. The west part of the cloister was destroyed along with the west part of the church by Wolsey, and the site is now occupied by part of the college hall and its fine vestibule. Over the south walk of the cloisters may be seen the canons' refectory of the fifteenth century, now converted into college rooms. From the east walk the chapter-house is entered through a Norman doorway with a window on each side. The chapter-house itself was rebuilt in the early part of the thirteenth century and is a singularly beautiful room lighted by lancet windows containing some old glass.

The cloister itself is of the fifteenth century. It has been said that the northern part of the east walk encroaches on the church, and that the now destroyed west aisle of the south transept was so destroyed to make room for it. If this was done it is difficult to account for the west wall of the slype and chapter-house being where they are; they should be 15 feet farther west. The chapter-house may have had a vestibule like that at the contemporary house of the same order at Bristol, but the evidence is rather against this. Doubtless it was originally intended that the transept should have a west aisle, but it seems probable

either that this idea was abandoned before the slype or chapter-house were built, or that the lower part of the aisle was to have been cut off and given to the cloister, exactly as was done at Westminster. The reader may accept which solution pleases him best, or may suggest another.

THE NEW SEES

RIPON. MANCHESTER. TRURO. SAINT ALBANS. LIVER-
POOL. NEWCASTLE. SOUTHWELL. WAKEFIELD.
SOUTHWARK. BIRMINGHAM

THE NEW SEES

IT is interesting to compare this list of new dioceses, created as occasion required, with the proposals made by Henry VIII in 1534 and 1539.¹ The comparison is curious by reason of the similarity and dissimilarity of the two lists. Of the ten new dioceses actually created in the last and present centuries five are in the northern Province and five in the southern. The Province of York has also six suffragan bishops, and that of Canterbury seventeen, many of whom take the title suggested by Henry VIII.

The early history of the new cathedrals is very varied. Southwark, founded in 1905, was a church of Augustinian canons. Saint Albans, founded in 1878, was Benedictine, the premier house of the order in England. Manchester, founded in 1847, was collegiate. Ripon, founded in 1836, and Southwell, in 1884, were famous churches of secular canons. Truro, Liverpool, Newcastle, Wakefield, and Birmingham were ordinary parish churches. Truro's new cathedral preserves a fragment of the old building. Liverpool cathedral is on a new site.

The following descriptions are arranged in the order in which the sees were founded.

¹ See Introduction.

RIPON

RIPON is one of the smallest and least imposing of the English cathedrals. But it has a long history of no less than twelve centuries, it is associated with one of the greatest names in church history, it preserves in its venerable crypt the actual work of Saint Wilfrith, and its later architectural history forms an important chapter in the story of English architecture.

Even before Wilfrith founded his monastery there was at Ripon a religious house, planted there by missionaries of the Scottish church; Saint Cuthbert had been its guest-master. After the defeat by Wilfrith of the Scottish party at the council of Whitby in 664 the Scotch monks retired from Ripon to Melrose.

Wilfrith, who is said to have been a native of the district, rebuilt the church and monastery soon afterwards, placing his church not exactly on the site of the Scottish church but somewhat to the west of it. The crypt, which still exists under the present church, is undoubtedly Wilfrith's work, and there can be little doubt that it was also his place of rest.

Wilfrith's church is described by one of his monks as being a 'basilica' built of dressed stone and having columns—taken perhaps from some Roman building—and porticoes—probably side aisles. In these early basilican churches the presbytery was often raised considerably above the nave over a vaulted crypt called a 'confessio,'—a place of burial for 'confessors' or saints. Naturally these crypts have been less liable

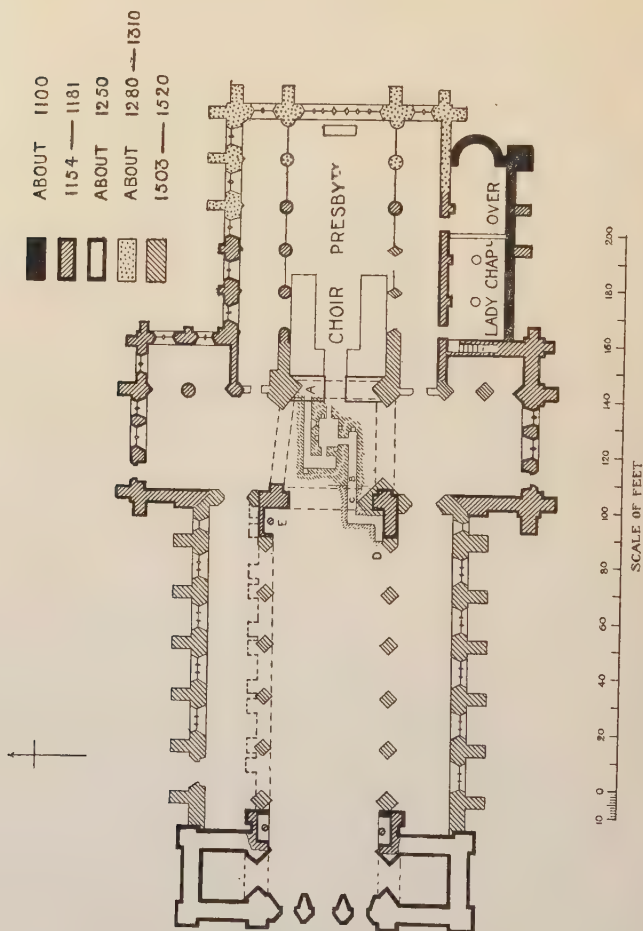


RIPON FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

to destruction than the upper parts of the buildings, and several of them have been preserved: Brixworth in Northamptonshire, Wing in Buckinghamshire, Repton, Hexham, and Ripon. The plan varies in different examples, but the general arrangement consists of a central chamber or space for a tomb, surrounded by a passage or aisle, with recesses for other tombs, and with two entrances from the nave of the church. The two doorways made it possible for a continuous stream of pilgrims and others to pass through the *confessio*. They could enter by one door, descend a short flight of steps, make the round of the shrines, and ascend by another staircase.

At Ripon the two staircases lead in opposite directions, one ascending westwards and the other eastwards. This is abnormal and puzzling. It makes it difficult to say which way the church above faced. At Repton, Brixworth, and Wing the presbytery and altar, and consequently the *confessio*, were towards the east. At Hexham the arrangement of the crypt, and especially of the staircases, suggests that the crypt and the presbytery were at the west end of the church. This was not uncommon in very early churches, and it is possible that it was originally general. All, or nearly all, the early churches in Rome, including Saint Peter's, have the altar at the west end and the entrance at the east end, and there is in England the remarkable Romano-British church at Silchester, without a crypt, but with its apse to the west. Mr. Micklethwaite, a great authority, thought that the same plan was followed at Ripon. Certainly one would expect the ultra-Roman Wilfrith to follow the Roman use. One of the Ripon entrances (that now in use) was altered in the Middle Ages, but you can see the marks of the original steps when the verger points them out. The other staircase has been blocked. The passage does not run round three sides of the central

chamber; one has to pass through that to get from one entrance to the other. In this respect, Ripon differs from other English examples.



RIPON. A former east entrance to crypt, now closed. B old part of west passage. C later part of west passage. D present entrance. E remains of thirteenth century triforium arcade. The thirteenth century wall and buttresses are shown on north side of the nave.

Wilfrith dedicated his church in honour of Saint Peter with great pomp about 670. Though the buildings of that time were small, it is a mistake to suppose that

those were days of great simplicity. Kings, abbots, and earls were gathered together. The altar was covered with cloths of purple and gold, and was laden with sacred vessels. Wilfrith gave to the church a copy of the Four Gospels, which he had caused to be written "in letters of gold on purple vellum, and placed it in a case of gold, studded with jewels." There is in the crypt a stone step decorated with slightly raised bands at right angles to one another, and evidently intended for some other purpose. The treatment shows it to be very early, and it is quite possible, as the enthusiastic verger has acutely suggested, that it is a part of an altar contemporary with the confessio, and has been actually used by Saint Wilfrith himself.

After Wilfrith had become Bishop of York, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, apparently without consulting Wilfrith, subdivided his enormous diocese into four, and Ripon for a time became a see. Wilfrith appealed to the Pope against this curtailment of his diocese. The Pope's decision in his favour stood him in little stead. He ended his long life of success and defeat, of pomp and asceticism, of adventure, work, and devotion at Oundle, but in accordance with his wishes his body was carried back to be laid among his own people at Ripon. He was buried, we are told, on the south side of the high altar—and this can only mean in the confessio.

So far as the history of the fabric is concerned there is now a wide hiatus. There is no work remaining of the period of four hundred years between Wilfrith and the Conquest. The church suffered the usual fate at the hands of the Danes in the middle of the ninth century, and probably for a considerable time the monastery was deserted. The monks, whom Wilfrith had established in place of the Scottish monks, were presumably Benedictines. At some time prior to the Conquest these had given way to secular canons—a curious reversal of the general tendency of the age.

The earliest work of the present building is a part of the chapter-house and the basement under it, on the south side of the choir. These are of Norman character, and are probably late eleventh century or early twelfth. Perhaps the whole church was rebuilt at that time, but if so it was entirely destroyed, with this slight exception, to make way for a new building little more than half a century later.

The first work of real importance now remaining is of the Transition from Norman to Early English—mid-twelfth century. This is the great period at Ripon. Work of that time is always interesting; there is in it a more vigorous vitality than in the massive but somewhat inert Norman, while it has, on the other hand, a sinuous strength which is often lacking in the graceful and more perfect work of later times.

The whole church seems to have been rebuilt from end to end between 1154 and 1181. The plan was remarkable. It was nearly the same length as the present church, and was cross-shaped. The nave had no aisles, but this was not unusual in canons' churches. The eastern arm of the cross containing the choir and presbytery had aisles, and it is thought that these were continued across the square east end; but no foundations have been discovered which bear out this view. Chapels projected from the east wall of the transept, giving the appearance of an eastern aisle. At the crossing there was a tower, two sides of which remain to-day without very much alteration; the east and south sides fell in the fifteenth century, and were rebuilt.

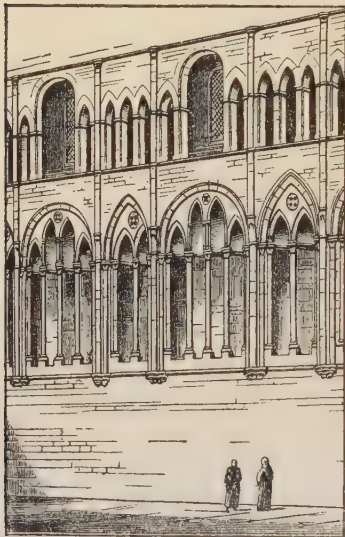
The chief credit for the scheme is apparently due to Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Evêque (1154-81), for he gave no less than "£1000 of the old coinage, for the building of the basilica . . . which we have begun afresh." This thousand pounds, of course, represents an immense sum of modern money—say thirty or forty thousand

pounds. The archbishop would favour a chapter of secular canons, for he is said to have been opposed to the whole monastic system. He was one of the foremost men of his day, apart from his archbishopric, and a man of great ability and learning. He was a strong opponent of Becket, he crowned Henry the Second king, and was said to have been responsible for Becket's death. He was one of the truculent class of medieval ecclesiastics, and when, at a later time, he found the Archbishop of Canterbury sitting on the seat to which he thought himself entitled, he asserted the claims of York by sitting down in the lap of his brother archbishop. What is more to our purpose, Archbishop Roger was a great builder at a very critical period in architectural history. He did much work in the diocese, in especial he rebuilt the choir of his own minster, and began the church at Ripon *de novo*.

The design of the choir and its aisles is admirable, and is very characteristic of the period. Pointed arches are used where, as in the main arches of the lowest story, they are expedient on constructional grounds, as adapting themselves more kindly to the vaulting of the aisles. In other places, as in the triforium and clerestory, round and pointed arches occur in close proximity with good effect. The division into bays is very marked, but the handling of the dividing shafts is uncertain, and seems to show that halting between two opinions to which the architect of the time were rather liable. This is not apparent now, because some of the work has been hidden by the oak vaulting put up by Sir Gilbert Scott. This vault takes the place of a lath-and-plaster affair of about fifty years before. This was the successor of a medieval wood vault which was ruined by the fall of the central spire in the seventeenth century, and that again had replaced one crushed by the fall of the tower in the fifteenth century. A fine series of bosses has

survived this succession of misfortunes, and has been worked into the present vault.

The transepts show a different phase of Roger's work. The north transept is particularly interesting. The roof is modern, but the aisle has a stone vault which is thought to be of the same age as the walls, though the arrangement of the courses of the vault surfaces



RIPON. Conjectural restoration of the nave before the addition of aisles. (From the *Archeological Journal*.)

is unique in work of such an early date. The north transept is entered by a good doorway with a trefoil head under the arch. The corresponding door of the south transept has a plain lintel under the arch. There was formerly a Renaissance porch in front of this doorway, but of course short work was made of that during the 'restoration' craze. The east side of the south transept was practically rebuilt in the fifteenth century. In the bay next to the tower there is a staircase — rebuilt — leading to the old 'Lady Loft.'

On a wall near it is a medieval painting of the Adoration of the Magi.

The most remarkable part of Archbishop Roger's work, however, was the nave. This has been almost entirely destroyed, but enough has been preserved in each corner of the present nave to enable us to reconstruct the whole with tolerable certainty. The nave, like the choir and transepts, was divided into

three stages. The lowest stage, some sixteen feet high, consisted of a blank wall. Above this came a very lofty triforium of exquisite design and a clerestory.

The longitudinal division of the nave was remarkable. At first sight of the inside it appears to have consisted of alternate wide and narrow bays. It would, however, be more proper to say that the bays were all wide, and that the broad piers between them were pierced by arches. The division into bays was, therefore, not very marked, especially at the triforium level. Outside the church these arcaded piers were backed by a pair of buttresses quite close together.

Adopting this division, we find that each bay of the triforium consisted of a wide round arch embracing four pointed lancets carried by slender detached shafts. The wall at the back was unpierced by any window. The clerestory, which also had a wall passage, had a large round-headed window with one narrow blind lancet on each side. The arches of the piers between the bays in the triforium were pointed and embraced two narrow lancets of beautiful proportions. The clerestory over them contains three narrow blind lancets, in continuation of those on each side of the clerestory windows. Small shafts, running from the sill of the triforium to the top of the wall, separate the wide and narrow divisions. It is thought that this treatment was continued across the west end.

To the east there is the round arch which carries the central tower. On its piers may be seen the corbels which supported the rood-beam. The view eastwards is spoilt by the enormous south-west pier built in the fifteenth century, when the south and east sides of the tower were being rebuilt, in preparation for the rebuilding of the west side. It was no doubt intended to rebuild the west and north sides, but this was never done, and these retain their original

round arches. The lower part of the western 'respond' or half column of the north arch has been encased with another low respond with a capital of about the same age as the main respond. Its object is not clear; perhaps it formed a part of some screen or gallery. It is now surmounted by a figure of King James I, recently turned out of York minster. This part of the church is very irregular; the nave is parallel with the choir, but has been set about two feet six inches too far to the north.

The first work of importance after Archbishop Roger's rebuilding was the addition of two western towers and the reconstruction of the west end of the nave. This work was apparently begun about the middle of the thirteenth century, probably not more than sixty years after the completion of the new church. The building can scarcely have gained by the change. The quality of the design falls far below that of Archbishop Roger, and is comparatively uninteresting both in its general idea and in its proportions. But it has excellent detail and the great merit of simplicity. The rebuilding of the west wall was, no doubt, prompted by the desire to get more light, for Roger's nave in its original state must have been rather dark. The effect of the new windows was not satisfactory to the folk of the thirteenth century, and they altered it in 1300 by inserting in all the ten lancets mullions and tracery. 'Restoration' has removed this work, five hundred years old, because it was not a part of the original design.

Lofty lead-covered spires were placed on the western towers at a later time—perhaps in the middle of the fifteenth century. A similar spire on the central tower, said to have been 120 feet high from the top of the tower, must have been put up soon after the partial rebuilding of the tower in 1454. The central spire fell in 1660, smashing the choir stalls, and the western

spires were removed a few years later as a precaution against a like misfortune. The paltry battlements and pinnacles were done in 1797.

Shortly after the building of the west end the canons took in hand the east end of the presbytery. The date is uncertain, but the work seems to have been done between 1280 and 1310. The great east window with its geometrical tracery does not conform quite happily with the older work inside, but the effect outside is very striking. There is a telling contrast between the refined tracery of the window and simple massive buttresses, ten feet in projection and six in width. Smaller buttresses, but still of great size, flank the aisles and throw into shadow the small windows at the ends of the aisles with happy effect. These great buttresses, by their bulk and by the admirable management of their proportions, give great dignity to the east end. The gable is the work of Sir Gilbert Scott. The southernmost of the turrets which surmount the buttresses contains a small chamber, reached through a trap-door in the floor. There is good evidence that this chamber was formerly occupied, and in all probability it was an 'anker-hold,' that is the cell of an anchorite.

About the same time as the rebuilding of the east end the eastern bays of the presbytery were altered, and changes were made in the triforium and clerestory. The former was converted from a blind storey to a clerestory by lowering the aisle roof and glazing the openings to form windows. It has been suggested that the roof was changed from a high pitch to one nearly flat in order to make it more convenient for the defenders when the church was attacked by the Scotts in 1318; but that is unlikely, although parts of the battlements are of a military pattern, as if intended for actual service. Some of the windows of the clerestory proper have geometrical tracery; this is placed not only near the

outer face of the wall, but is repeated on the inner face, giving an effect of greater richness. The western part of the south aisle of the choir was rebuilt in the fifteenth century after the fall of the central tower.

The stalls with their rich canopies and interesting miserere carvings are the work of the fifteenth century. The sedilia are rather earlier, being of Decorated character; the upper parts had been destroyed and are new, and the whole work has been 'restored'; that is to say, moved from its original place in the second bay from the east to its present position. The high altar, it should be explained, formerly stood one bay in advance of the east end, and not against the wall as at present. The iron hooks upon the second column probably held up the Lenten veil, which was drawn in front of the altar in Lent. The reredos is modern.

While the rebuilding of the east end was in progress, or at all events at about that time, a new Lady chapel was built over the Norman chapter-house, which stands on the south side of the choir. From its elevated position it was commonly called the 'Lady Loft.' It is lighted by square-headed three-light windows with tracery, and at the east end there is a window of five lights in a square oriel, which sits on the conical stone roof of the Norman apse. The chapel is now used as the chapter library.

The various works which have been described above had not very materially altered the building. The plan was almost unchanged. The church was in essentials the church of Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Evêque: choir with two aisles, transept with one aisle, nave without aisles. The east wall of the presbytery and the west wall of the nave had been rebuilt, and west towers had been added. The transept was practically untouched. One cannot but feel some regret that the canons did not leave well alone and rest contented with

their unconventional but striking nave. But early in the sixteenth century (1503-20) they set about rebuilding it, first the south side and then the north, with lofty arches and aisles and a very fine clerestory. The work is bold and simple, and when the windows were filled with painted glass the effect was no doubt impressive to no small degree. The width and the number of bays remained the same, but the walls were made rather higher. It seems never to have been intended to vault the nave in stone. The original roof was destroyed, and a poor substitute put in its place in the first half of the nineteenth century; the present wood ceiling is by Scott. The aisles were prepared for vaults, but these were not built till Scott's restoration. In the west bay of the south aisle stands the contemporary font, and near it is preserved an earlier one—probably of Archbishop Roger's time.

The Rood Screen dates from quite the end of the fifteenth century. A series of niches, which without doubt formerly contained statues, flank the central door. On the pedestals in the niches there are the shields of arms of various benefactors.

For this work the canons probably received considerable help from the archbishops of the time, Savage and Cardinal Bainbridge. There had been a palace with an immense park here from time immemorial, and the church had something of cathedral rank, and enjoyed many privileges. The right of sanctuary round the church extended over an area with a radius of a mile, and was marked by eight crosses, the base of one of which may still be seen on the Sharow Road. At one time the penalties for molesting a refugee were as follows: between the limit and the graveyard wall, £18; within the graveyard, £36; within the choir, confiscation of goods and possibly death.

The parish of Ripon was a 'peculiar' and comprised

a very large district, some twenty miles across, which was served by a number of chapels or district-churches, of which there were eventually sixteen or more. The canons were seven in number, and all but one held prebends in the neighbourhood,—districts in the parish of Ripon. There was no Dean, but the Canon of Stanwick as *ex officio* Ruler of the Choir was always in residence, and seems to have taken the lead. But all the canons seem to have been very constantly absent from their cures, for Archbishop Thomas de Corbridge (1299–1303) made certain rules against the farming out of the prebends, and insisted on the vicars being perpetual. The vicars lived in Ripon, in a house called the Bedern, which had been built for them, so that the sub-districts seem to have been left entirely without a resident priest, either rector or vicar.

The good archbishops were sometimes concerned about the spiritual welfare of the canons and their vicars as well as of their flocks. We hear of pluralists, of intruded foreigners, of canons suspected of being married, and even of being laymen, of vicars addicted to sports, stage-plays and gambling, of a chaplain even inventing a gambling game called ‘ding-thrifts,’ of clergy absenting themselves from services, and of swaggering with daggers at their sides even in the church. But one must not judge them too harshly; probably they were no worse than other people. The evil that they did lives after them; the good has been interred in the grave.

The chapter was re-established by King James I, with a Dean for its head. The Grammar School, which had existed in the Middle Ages, was disestablished and reformed in the usual way by Edward VI. Not very much building work was done since then till the formation of the see in 1836, when the work of restoration began.

MANCHESTER

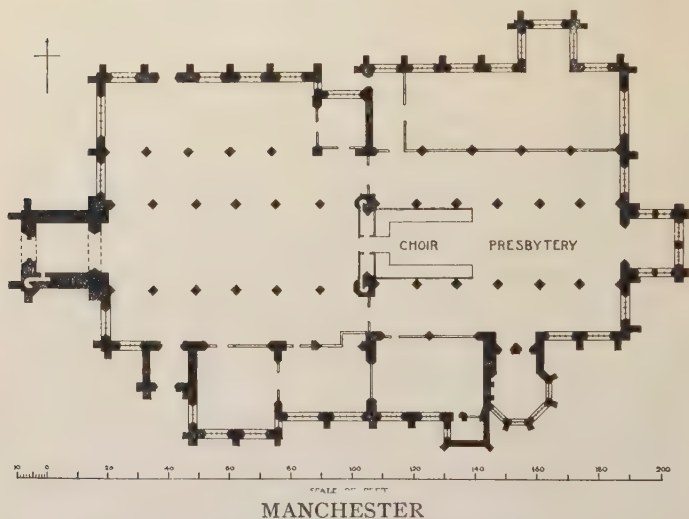
THOMAS WEST, otherwise called Thomas de la Warre, rector of the parish of Manchester, obtained in 1422 a royal licence to found in and belonging to the parish church a college consisting of a warden, eight fellows, four clerks, and six choristers. This was probably on the occasion of West's inheritance from his brother, who had died childless, of the ancient barony of de la Warre and of the manor of Manchester. He made sundry grants to the new foundation, and erected domestic buildings for the members of the college on the north side of the church. He rebuilt the church itself, and dedicated it in honour of the Blessed Virgin, Saint George, and Saint Denys. The college was dissolved by Edward VI, and the lands and buildings passed into the hands of the Stanleys, Earls of Derby. On its re-establishment by Queen Mary, the lands were recovered, but not the buildings. Queen Elizabeth granted a new charter and changed the name to Christ's College. The domestic buildings remained in the hands of the Stanley family till after the Restoration, when they were given to Chetham's Hospital.

Lord de la Warre's foundation continued as a collegiate church in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, and after 1541 in the diocese of Chester, until 1848, when Manchester itself became the seat of a bishop.

De la Warre's new church consisted of a nave and choir of equal length, each with north and south aisles. At the west end there is a tower, and this seems to be

the only part of the earlier church that was preserved. The nave is the work of de la Warre and those who joined with him in the foundation of the college; the choir was built by John Huntingdon, the first warden (1422-58), whose rebus occurs in various places.

Very soon after the completion of the church, and perhaps before it was actually finished, an additional aisle was added on each side, forming a series of side chapels—Saint James's and one or two others on the



north side, and Saint George's and Saint Nicholas's on the south. These were separated from the aisles by traceried screens. The fine choir stalls with rich canopy work date from no long time after the foundation.

A large chapel, dedicated to Saint John Baptist, was begun in 1513 by "James, a goodlie Man, a Prieste: Yet little Prieste's mettall was in him, by Christe." He was a son of one of the Earls of Derby, and held the wardenship before and after his elevation to the Bishopric of Ely. After his death in 1515 the work was finished by one



MANCHESTER. THE NAVE

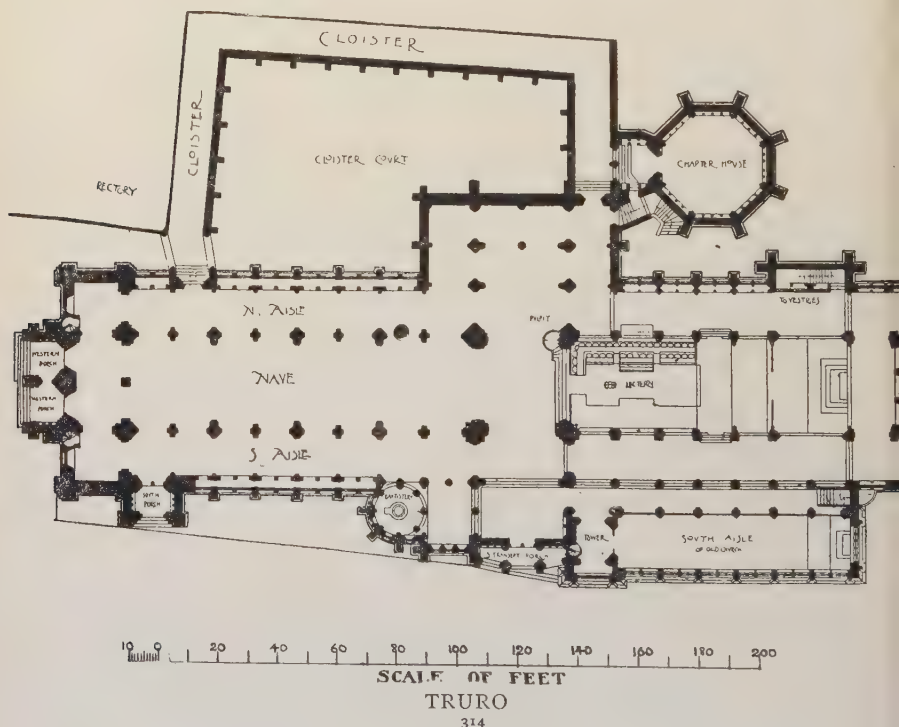
of his natural sons. It forms an additional aisle on the north side of the choir, from which it is separated by screens between the columns. To the north there projects a chapel known as the Ely chapel, containing the tomb of the founder.

A few years later a very small Lady chapel was added by George West, a descendant of the founder of the college, who became warden in 1518.

The chapter-house on the south side is thought to have been built during the wardenship of James Stanley. The tower was rebuilt in the second half of the nineteenth century.

TRURO

THE county of Cornwall was formed into a separate diocese in 1877, with Truro as the seat of the bishop. A cathedral church was begun in 1880 from the designs of the late J. L. Pearson, R.A., on the site of the old parish church of Saint Mary. The south aisle of the old church, built in the fifteenth century, was preserved and incorporated into the new building, to which it forms an aisle on the south side of the choir. The nave of the new cathedral was consecrated on 15th July 1903.





TRURO FROM THE NORTH-WEST

SAINT ALBANS

THE Roman Verulamium, on the right bank of the river Ver, was a walled city of some importance, and many remains of archæological interest have been found upon its site. Here lived the Roman Albanus, who was to become the protomartyr of Britain, and was thus to give the place a wider fame. During the persecution under Diocletian (A.D. 305) Albanus, still a pagan, received and sheltered in his cottage Amphibalus, a Christian priest who was hiding himself from the persecution. The sight of his guest in constant prayer greatly impressed Albanus. He sought his instruction and himself became a Christian. The place of refuge was discovered, and when the soldiers came to the house Albanus presented himself at the door wrapped in the priest's long cloak. When led before the judge, who was at that moment assisting at a great sacrifice, he professed himself a Christian and refused to sacrifice to the pagan gods. He was severely scourged, but as he still persisted he was condemned to beheadal. Accordingly he was led from the city toward a hill on the opposite bank of the Ver. The bridge which crossed the river was narrow. There was so great a crowd seeking to pass and to witness the execution that Albanus, eager for martyrdom, feared that evening would come before he could reach the appointed place. But at his prayer the river shrank away, and the host of witnesses was able to pass over dry-shod. The executioner was so impressed by the miracle that he fell at

the feet of Albanus desiring rather to die with him than to take his life. When the top of the hill was reached, Albanus was thirsty and desired water. Immediately a spring burst forth, which, when he had drank thereof, again became dry. Then was the martyr's head struck off, and he received the crown of life. The soldier who had refused to act as executioner was beheaded at the same time.

The place of martyrdom, which afterwards became the site of the present town, was visited by Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, a hundred and twenty-five years later. He placed certain relics in the tomb of Albanus, and took away with him a sod still stained with his blood. Bede, from whom the above account is derived, writing about 730, or four hundred and twenty-five years after the martyrdom, says that a church had been built upon the site and that many miracles took place at it. This church was destroyed by the Danes, and the actual place where the martyr was buried was forgotten. But towards the end of the eighth century, Offa, King of Mercia, determined to found a Benedictine monastery on the spot in honour of Albanus, in expiation of the murder of Ethelbert, King of the East Anglians. Offa had possessions in the neighbourhood, and certain earthworks at a place still called Kingsbury, just below the town, are said to be the remains of his house. Offa procured the canonization of the martyr from Pope Adrian, and search was made for his grave, which presently was discovered by means of a miraculous light. Antiquaries now say that the place was the site of a cemetery which had belonged to the deserted Verulamium, so that no prolonged search would be necessary to find some important sepulchre which would carry conviction to the minds of the searchers. The remains were removed together with the relics placed with them by Germanus, and having been put in a reliquary,



SAINT ALBANS. THE SHRINE OF SAINT ALBAN

were deposited in a temporary church till a more permanent one should be built.

Tradition says that the relics were carried off by the Danes who sacked the monastery in the time of the fourth abbot, but were recovered. The eleventh abbot, Ælfric, feared a repetition of this misfortune and took steps to avert it. The episode makes an amusing story of monastic diplomacy. The abbot sent the relics of the saint to Ely for safety in a rich coffer. When the trouble was overpast, and it became time for the monks of Ely to return the relics, they wickedly packed up others and kept those of Saint Alban in their own church. When the Abbot of Saint Albans discovered the fraud, he rose to the occasion. Instead of making efforts, which would no doubt have proved futile, to recover the relics, he retorted that those which he had sent to Ely were not the relics of Saint Alban at all, but the bones of some nameless monk, and that he had himself buried the real remains of Saint Alban in his own church. If the Abbot of Ely had but been acquainted with the story of the Roman cemetery, he might still at least have had the last word, though not the bones of Saint Alban.

This Abbot Ælfric was a politic man and bought the royal manor of Kingsbury, the officers of which had been troublesome and oppressive to the convent. His successor, Ealdred, began the deliberate destruction of the buildings of Verulamium, which had become a 'cold-harbour,' a deserted place whose ruins afforded a refuge for thieves and broken men and evil women. The stone and brick from these buildings were gradually accumulated by Ealdred and his successor as material for the rebuilding of their church. This project was not carried out, but the preparations which these Saxon abbots made, account for the large amount of Roman brick which forms such a striking characteristic of the earliest part of the present church.

The rebuilding was begun by Paul of Caen, the first Norman abbot and a friend and kinsman of Lanfranc, in 1077, and dedicated by his successor in 1115 in the presence of King Henry I and his queen and a great company of nobles, bishops, and abbots. The church as it then stood consisted of a short presbytery terminated by an apse and aisles separated from the presbytery by solid walls and also ending in apses, transepts without aisles but with two apses projecting from the eastern side of each, an immensely long nave, a central tower, and two towers at the west end. This work is extraordinarily impressive. There is a largeness in the whole conception remarkable even among Norman churches. The use of Roman brick and of a number of turned stone baluster shafts from the church which Offa had built in 793, the extreme severity of form, and the massiveness of the proportions give the building the appearance of very great antiquity. The central tower is particularly grand in its repose and rude strength. The ordinary nave piers are 11 feet long by 9 feet wide, while the tower piers are 16 feet by 14 feet. Compare these with Salisbury, little more than a hundred years later, where the nave columns are about 4 feet in diameter, and even those under the central tower only 7 feet square. The Saint Albans piers, like the arches, are quite without ornament, having not even a capital, merely a heavy abacus.

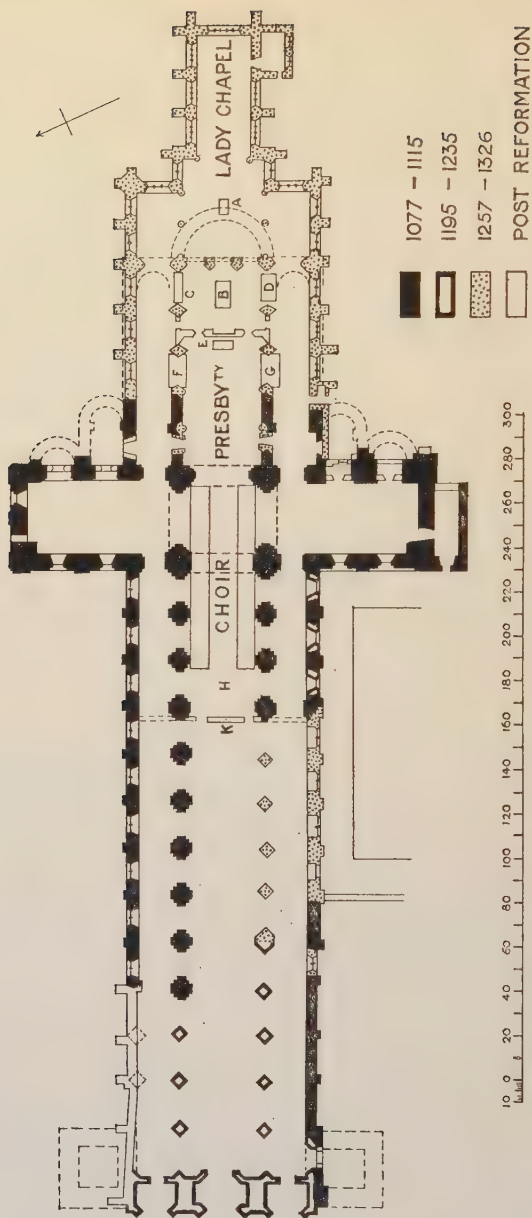
It must be remembered, however, when we look at the severe forms of the architecture that we see it deprived of almost all its decorative colouring. As in so many other Norman churches, there is enough left to show that this was elaborate, and that being so, it is right that the forms should be correspondingly simple. Denude Saint Mark's of its mosaics, and it too would become something severe. The general effect of Saint Albans, therefore, when it was new and fresh, was not quite

so stern as it seems at first sight. The outside was whitewashed. The paintings on the piers, marking the positions of side altars, are of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The transepts are not quite so plain as the nave, by reason of the Saxon balusters which are used in the triforium with the addition of heavy Norman capitals. It has been suggested that Abbot Paul used these fragments of their old church to please the Saxon monks, but more probably he was influenced by a reluctance to waste good building material.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the newly born Gothic style had lost nothing of its youthful freshness and vigour, Abbot John de Cella (1195-1214) began to rebuild the west front. Unfortunately, the poor man ran short of money, and the finger of scorn has been pointed at him by writers ever since, from Matthew Paris downwards. He took down the Norman west end with its flanking towers, but only finished building the three new porches before he died—three porches of perfect architecture, very rich in moulding and in carved work. His successor, William of Trumpington (1215-35), finished the work in a less costly manner, and rebuilt the western part of the nave—four bays on the north side and five on the south. His work is admirable, but it is very different from that of de Cella. The capitals are moulded instead of being carved with foliage; the arch mouldings are not so good; the triforium arcade is continuous, instead of being broken into bays corresponding with the arches below. Trumpington's work is a trifle cold.

The next great work was at the east end. The three apses were pulled down, and the presbytery was lengthened and made square-ended by Abbot John of Hertford (1235-60). The work was carried farther east to form a Lady chapel with a vestibule. At the same



SCALE OF FEET

SAINT ALBANS. A shrine of Amphibalus. B shrine of Saint Alban. C watching loft. D tomb of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. E reredos. F tomb of Abbot Ramryng (1324). G of Abbot Wheathampstead (1440). H site of pulpitum. K nave reredos.

time the western part of the Norman presbytery, though left standing, was remodelled. It is thought that all this work, which brought the plan of the church to the form in which we see it to-day, was planned together as one scheme. It was not, however, all built at one time. The presbytery and work up to the entrance to the Lady chapel is supposed to have taken from 1256 till 1290, while the Lady chapel was not finished till the abbacy of Hugh of Eversden (1308-26). The earlier portions are the very best work of their period—a period when Gothic art had reached full maturity and as yet showed no sign of decadence. Very simple, very restrained, very refined, it lacks perhaps a little of the energy of still earlier days in the handling of some details. It is covered by a wood vault of 1420-40 decorated with admirable contemporary paintings of eagles and lambs, the devices of Abbot Wheathampstead, as we are told by an inscription over the east arch of the tower. The Lady chapel is also beautiful work, but it is not quite equal to the presbytery and ante-chapel, and shows that a decline had set in.

Abbot Hugh also began the rebuilding of five bays on the south side of the Norman nave which had fallen down in 1323. "While the mass of the Virgin was in celebration, many men and women being present, suddenly two great columns on the south side of the church fell to the ground with a great noise and crash. In an hour after, all the roof and the beams of the south part and nearly all the cloister fell."

The new work which made good this disaster is first-rate. The general idea follows the lines laid down by William of Trumpington at the west end of the nave: the detail is not so strong; the foliage, for instance, begins to be of the crinkled cabbage order. The shields sculptured on the wall just under the triforium have the arms of Mercia for Offa the founder, of England, of

Edward the Confessor, and of the abbey. In the aisle of this rebuilt portion there is a door leading to the west walk of the cloister and to the abbot's parlour and to his chapel over it. High up in the wall there is a small opening through which the abbot in his chapel could see several of the altars in the nave. The painted wood ceiling of the nave was put up at about this time; it is supposed to take the place of one of Norman date. The fine screen (K) separating the choir and nave is also of the same period; it was originally continued across the aisles. In the centre was the altar of the Holy Cross, but the actual rood stood upon the *pulpitum* (H), a few feet farther east.

No great works were undertaken during the fifteenth century. Large handsome Perpendicular windows were inserted in the west end and in the transept ends between 1420 and 1440. Low-pitched roofs were put on the nave and transepts. The aisle walls were lowered and the roofs flattened so that the arches of the triforium became windows. It is hardly worth while to trace these works in detail, for they have all been destroyed in recent years. The most important work of the period, the great stone reredos, has, however (by an oversight?), been allowed to remain. This is a very lofty and rich piece of tabernacle work erected between 1476 and 1484. It has a resemblance to the Winchester reredos. The plain cross-shaped masonry in the centre was, of course, covered by a large crucifix. The shields of arms over the doorways bear the wheat-ears of Abbot John of Wheathampstead (1420-40). Possibly he gave the money for the work.

There is, curiously, the same ambiguity about the monument and chantry chapel to the south of the reredos (G). They are said by a contemporary writer to be those of Wallingford, but they are carved with the wheat-ears of Wheathampstead. Wallingford

might have his reasons for carving his predecessor's rebus on the reredos, but he would hardly put them on his own tomb. Within the enclosure there has now been placed the splendid Flemish brass of Abbot Thomas de la Mare (1349-96). The elaborate chantry chapel and monument on the opposite side of the presbytery (F) are those of Abbot Ramryge (1492-1524), as may be plainly seen from his rebus. To the south of the retrochoir is the monument to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (D), Protector during the minority of Henry VI. The shrine of Saint Amphibalus, the priest protected by Saint Alban, stood in the middle of the space just west of the Lady chapel (A), and some fragments have been replaced. The relics of the saint were found at Redbourne, near by, in the twelfth century, and were brought with pomp to the monastery. The shrine of Saint Alban was carried to meet the relics of Saint Amphibalus as far as the place where the church of Saint Mary des Prez was afterwards built, and on this occasion it "became so light that it could be carried without difficulty by two brethren, yea even by one, whereas at other times it could hardly be transported by four from its own place to one not far distant."

Behind the reredos is the chapel of the patron saint, and in the centre of it stood his tomb (B). The chapel was entirely enclosed, but there was a doorway on either side, so that the stream of pilgrims who visited the shrine might do so without confusion, all entering by one door and leaving by the other. The management of the large body of pilgrims who visited important shrines—and Saint Alban's was a very important shrine—must have required careful organization. Their housing and feeding, conducting them to the various points which were the chief objects of their journey, the collection of their offerings, each for its special object and to go to its special coffer in charge of its

proper officer,—the arrangement of the masses, the sale of Indulgences, and all the minor details which these involved, must have kept the convent busy during the spring and summer months.

The remains of the shrine of Saint Alban are a very beautiful and refined piece of work, reconstructed in modern days from some two thousand fragments found embedded in walls of post-Reformation days—a class of ‘restoration’—to use that much-abused word—in every way justifiable and excellent. It forms the lower part only of the medieval work, for it supported a coffer containing the actual relics. The whole was protected by a cover hung from the vaulting by ropes so that it could be raised on the great feasts when the shrine was carried in procession. The shrine itself was of gold and silver set with precious stones. The base—the part re-erected in 1876—is a rich piece of work in Purbeck marble standing about eight feet high, and is thought to date from about 1308, the first year of Abbot Hugh of Eversden. There are piercings in the sides which were not improbably designed for the admission of a diseased limb or of a garment, for it was a practice to place such in a shrine in the hope of a cure being effected by the sacredness of the relics. Between and within the gablets which surround the upper part of the work are sculptured scenes and figures. Offa, King of Mercia, the founder, holds in his hand the model of a church. The figure with a spear is supposed to be Saint Oswine, King of Deira, murdered in 651. He was buried at Tynemouth, and the monastery founded there by his murderer became a dependent cell of the larger but later house of Saint Albans. The scourging and beheading of Saint Alban are also represented. Surrounding the shrine were fourteen columns, which it is conjectured were for tapers. Immediately to the east was an altar.

Near to the shrine, under the arch immediately to the north of it, there is the watching loft (C), a wooden structure in two storeys—the lower containing lockers in which might be kept objects belonging to the shrine and altar ; the upper, which overhangs on wood vaulting, formed a chamber for the guardians of the shrine. This is a very charming and characteristic piece of work of the early part of the fifteenth century.

The great abbey of Saint Alban, seated in most pleasant surroundings, favoured by kings from its earliest days, the house of one of the most powerful and wealthy of the mitred abbots, with the longest church in the realm save one, the memorial of the protomartyr of Britain, the premier house of the English Benedictines, was in its latter days as unfortunate as it had been prosperous. The dwellings of the monks and of their great abbot and his princely retinue, the lodgings for his lordly guests and for the humble pilgrims, the chapter-house, the cloister—all have disappeared more completely than those of any other of our great religious houses. The stately gateway of Abbot de la Mare alone remains to tell what has been.

The church itself has suffered a fate almost worse than destruction. Granted in 1553 to the mayor and burgesses for £400, it was indeed preserved as a church, but the purchasers were empowered to make the Lady chapel into a grammar school, and this part of the building has consequently suffered cruel mutilation and thorough restoration. Many other parts of the church were allowed to become very ruinous ; the great chapel of Saint Andrew at the west end was entirely destroyed, and the west front was mutilated. The magnificent tower was tottering to its fall, and was only saved by the skill of Sir Gilbert Scott. Last of all, the grand old church has during the last few years been the object of liberality the most unstinted and the most ill applied.

Some parts have undergone the crudest restoration, and others wholesale destruction. The great fifteenth-century windows which had been thoroughly repaired by Sir Gilbert Scott have been destroyed, and their place has been taken by a sort of Early English, the merest 'prenticework, the designs for which might have emanated from the nursery. No one can accuse Sir Gilbert Scott or Sir Arthur Blomfield of allowing their reverence for ancient work to degenerate into pedantry, but what they had thought worthy of repair was swept away. Nor was late Gothic work alone destroyed, but actual Norman work forming a part of the original design was pulled down to make room for modern Norman of a very different sort.

But the huge Norman piers still stand in their rude strength, and you may still see the rows of stone balusters from the church of old King Offa ; the brick from Roman Verulamium still gives an evening glow to the hoary walls, and the great tower yet rises grandly from the long line of roof.



LIVERPOOL. THE CHAPEL

LIVERPOOL

THE diocese of Liverpool was formed in 1880, and the parish church of Saint Peter became the cathedral. The church, which was built in 1704, is said to be ugly and almost devoid of interest.

After many years of discussion a new building was begun in 1904, from the designs of Mr. E. Gilbert Scott, son of the late George Gilbert Scott, architect, and grandson of Sir Gilbert Scott, R.A.

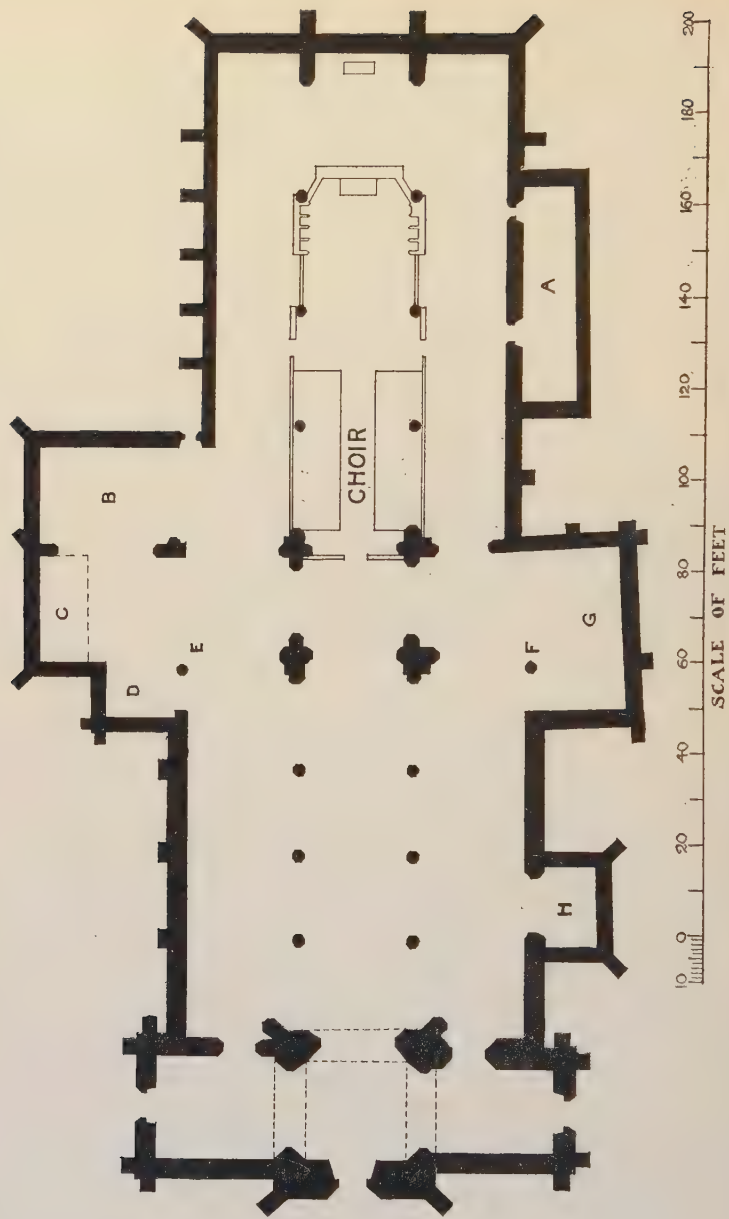
NEWCASTLE

THE county of Northumberland was formed into a separate diocese in 1882. The old parish church of Saint Nicholas, Newcastle-on-Tyne, then became the cathedral. The church is said to have been founded by Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury in 1091, eleven years after the new castle had been built. It was given by Henry I to the canons of Carlisle, whose order he particularly favoured. The earliest work that now remains is more than a century later than the foundation, but it is not impossible to make a guess at the original plan and early history of the building.

We find that, omitting minor features, the present church consists of a long chancel with aisles, a short and very narrow nave with wide aisles, transepts with four large piers at the crossing, a large west tower with porches to north and south of it.

From this remarkable but not very unusual type of plan we may assume a Norman church, cruciform in plan but of small dimensions, with a chancel the width of the present chancel, and about half its length; a nave the same size as the present nave, but probably like the chancel without aisles; small, square transepts, the north-west and south-west corners of which are roughly indicated by the existing late columns (plan E.F.); a tower over the crossing of the nave and transepts.

The first alterations to this plan would be the addition of narrow aisles to the nave, possibly on both sides at once, but more probably on the north first and after-



NEWCASTLE. A vestries, with library above. B Saint George's porch. C crypt (below). D aisle of transept. E, F columns about in the position of the north-west and south-west angles of original transepts. G Our Lady's porch. H Bewick porch.

wards on the south. These aisles would probably be just about half the width of the present aisles. We know as a fact that the Norman church was destroyed by fire in 1216. We cannot say exactly what is meant by the word 'destroyed,' but the north-west pier of the crossing contains, concealed by later work, an earlier pier corresponding in its architectural character with that date. It is thought also that the walls of the nave, but not the arches below them nor the clere-story above, are of the same period. It would seem, therefore, that the nave was rebuilt with aisles in 1217 and the following years, and the work may have included the rebuilding of the central tower.

A general rebuilding of almost the whole church was begun about the middle of the fourteenth century. We are told that the church was 'rebuilt and finished' in 1359. This is thought to refer to the nave and transepts only, and doubtless also it means 'finished' only; the work could not have been done in a single year. Probably it was begun before the Death of 1349. This work seems to have included the rebuilding of the main arcades, though not of the walls above them. It greatly increased, we can scarcely doubt, the size of the church. Till now the aisles had probably been narrow and the transepts small. The new aisles were made very wide, even wider than the nave, and the projection of the transepts was most likely doubled.

This enlargement of the western part of the church and the contemplated enlargement of the chancel (for it was doubtless already contemplated) made it necessary to provide a place in which to put the human remains which would be disturbed in such a considerable encroachment on the churchyard. Consequently a Bonehouse was built underground against the end of the north transept. It was covered with a barrel vault strengthened with ribs after the manner of a medieval bridge. It was

entered from the outside by a doorway in the east wall. The ossuary remained full of bones till 1824. At the time of the general rebuilding, or not long afterwards, the transept was continued northwards over the crypt so that it is eleven feet longer than the south transept. Each transept has a western aisle, added or altered at a later time. The south transept is called St. Mary's Porch from its having contained Our Lady's altar. The large eastern projection from the north transept is known as St. George's Porch. 'Porch' is probably a mistranslation of the Latin *porticus*, the word which would be used for these projecting wings. The chapel on the south side of the nave is called the Bewick Porch, because it was used as the burial-place of the Bewick family from the first half of the seventeenth century till the middle of the nineteenth. It was formerly the chapel of St. Margaret's Chantry, founded at the end of the fourteenth century.

The rebuilding of the chancel was begun in 1368. It is possible that some part of the Norman chancel still stood though it had probably been enlarged. The historians have preserved the details of a little scene which bring vividly before us a picture of the rebuilding. The works, says Mr. Boyle, had been undertaken without the consent of the bishop and prior of Carlisle. They forthwith appointed a proctor who went to Newcastle to see what was being done. He found one of the clergy sitting in the churchyard on the south side, near the new work of the choir, hammering and working on a stone. This priest was reputed to be the moving spirit of the whole work. The proctor asks him by whose authority it had been begun, and gets no satisfactory answer. He therefore commands the priest to stop building the new work or taking down the old, and at the same time he throws a small stone at the walls. Later in the day he meets two burgesses who were giving



NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

their counsel and help in the work, and these also he forbade to proceed. All this, we are told, was a mere matter of form, and as an assertion of the authority of the bishop and prior, and that it in nowise affected the progress of the work. And so we may suppose the priest went on placidly chipping his stone for the rest of that August day, and the burgesses proceeded about their business in Sandhill, and the work of the chancel went on and was in due time finished.

It is probable that the central tower had been taken down some time before this, and perhaps the church had been since then without a tower, and may have remained so till near the close of the Middle Ages. It is true that three of the bells are believed to date from the beginning of the fifteenth century, but these may have hung in a temporary bell tower. However that may be, the present grand western tower belongs almost certainly to the last quarter of the fifteenth century, for it bears the inscription 'Orate pro anima Roberti de Rodes,' and Robert Rodes died in 1474. Towers of this type, that is with a lantern supported on arches, belong to the north; examples are to be seen at St. Giles' in Edinburgh, King's College at Aberdeen, and the Tron Church at Glasgow, and formerly were found at St. Michael's, Linlithgow, and at Haddington. These all seem to belong to this late period. There was a famous southern instance of this treatment; Loftie says that St. Mary's, Cheapside, obtained its name of St. Mary Le Bow from the bows or arches which carried its lantern. The memory of these seems to have influenced Wren's design when he rebuilt the church after the Fire.

The Newcastle lantern is almost the last word in Gothic construction. It is difficult to call to mind anything more daring and at the same time handled with greater ease. The soundness of its design and execution is testified by its having weathered northern

storms for nearly four and a half centuries. Its success as a work of art few will now question.

The Font is of about the same date as the tower, and bears the arms of the Rodes family. It has a fine late, but pre-Reformation cover, in the details of which appear some Renaissance ornaments.

The building on the south side of the chancel was done in 1735 by Sir Walter Blackett. There are vestries below, but on the upper floor there is a long room built to contain the library bequeathed by the Reverend Dr. Thomlinson. This was the last good work done in the old days. In 1783 awful destruction was wrought by way of improvement.

The whole church was restored by Sir Gilbert Scott in the seventies, at great cost, but the reredos and other chancel furniture were done in 1887 by Mr. R. J. Johnson. The church is curious in having a floor which slopes very considerably downwards to the east.



SOUTHWELL FROM THE NORTH

SOUTHWELL

THE Chapter of Southwell is of great antiquity. It certainly existed in the middle of the tenth century. The church was one of those 'minsters' of which we have several examples in the north which were served by secular canons, married men who handed down to their sons their interest in the Chapter estates. At the time of the Conquest, Southwell was in the diocese of York, which then included the whole of Nottinghamshire, and so continued until the nineteenth century. It had been favoured by the Saxon archbishops; it was a useful outpost in their vast diocese, and it made a useful half-way house to Worcester, of which diocese the Archbishops of York were for some time bishops. The first Norman archbishop died at Southwell. His successor, Thomas II (1108-14), addressed a letter to the folk of Nottinghamshire asking for contributions towards the building of the church of Saint Mary of Southwell, and in return he promised that if they made their annual pilgrimage to Southwell they should have the same pardon that they would receive at York.

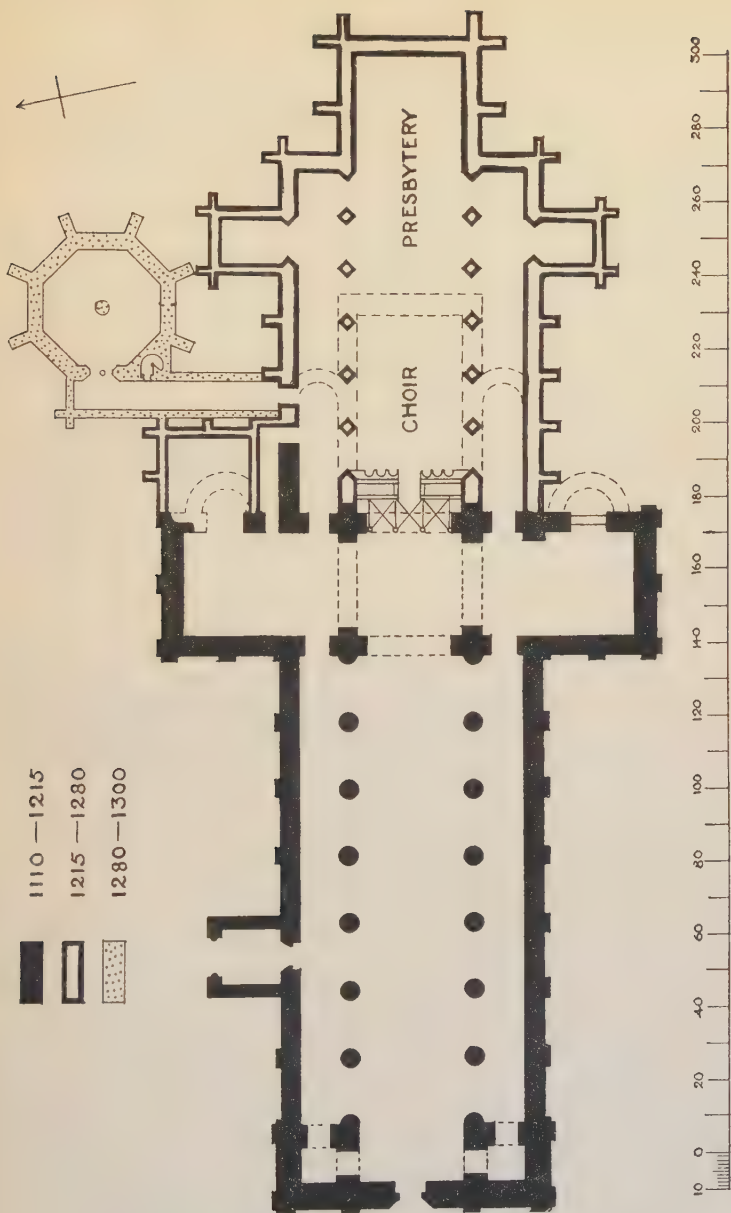
This Indulgence fixes fairly closely the beginning of the present church: it must have been issued between 1108 and 1114, and we may assume that the rebuilding was begun at about the same time—either a little before or soon after. Of this church built by Archbishop Thomas and his immediate successors we have practically everything except the presbytery, and what we have is singularly free from later alterations. The only change

in the plan that is of real importance is the destruction of the apse or pair of apses which projected eastwards from each transept, and the only late work that seriously affects the view is the great west window.

The presbytery has been entirely rebuilt, and although some foundations have presumably been found, authorities differ as to its exact length, some averring that it was about three-quarters of the present length, while others say that it was only half. It is, however, agreed that it was square ended, and that it had aisles somewhat shorter than the central part and terminating in apses. The stalls of the canons may have been approximately where they are at present ; but if the eastern arm of the church was short, they must have been originally under the tower.

There seems to be no external evidence as to the date of completion. The style of the work right up to the west end—no doubt the last part to be completed—is practically uniform, but this does not necessarily point to rapid building : a nave was generally finished in the style in which it had been begun. A change of fashion would show itself probably in the west front ; but even the west front shows no substantial advance : it was not until the towers were nearly finished that an arcade of pointed arches was modestly introduced into one of them. We may assume, therefore, that the work generally was finished by 1150, and even the south-west tower not more than ten years later.

The treatment is severe even to harshness, but the general effect, especially of the exterior, is very grave and noble, and entirely free from those frivolities which appear in the work of a generation or two later, when greater mastery of technique had been attained. The inside is not savage in the sense that the chapel in the White Tower is savage, but it is, to say the least, grim, and the design is not altogether pleasing or impressive.



The relation which the triforium bears to the work above and below appears either to have not quite satisfied the original architect or to have been left unfinished ; the knobs left at the springing and apex of each arch seem to suggest that some subdivision was contemplated.

The arches of the central tower are bold, strong work. The capitals from which the eastern arch springs have rude but interesting sculpture, out of sight but shown in photographs ; the subjects are said to be, on the north pier, the Last Supper, the Adoration of the Magi, and perhaps the Procession to Calvary ; and on the south pier, Washing the Disciples' Feet, and the Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem. The volutes and other features of these capitals are interesting reminders of their far-off ancestor the Composite capital of the Romans.

The rebuilding of the presbytery is attributed to the influence of the great Archbishop Walter de Gray (1216-56). An Indulgence of thirty days which he granted to those who contributed towards the work is dated 1233 ; at that time the work had probably been begun but was not finished. As the new work extended considerably farther east than the Norman church, it was possible to build the eastern part before disturbing the rest, and this could be the more easily done in the case of a square-ended Norman church than in an apsidal church. It was probably not until the new work was well advanced that the Norman presbytery was taken down. The whole work could then be carried to its full height and roofed and vaulted together. That this was the method of procedure seems probable from the fact that in the western part of the work some Mansfield stone from the Norman building has been re-used, which is not the case in the eastern part.

The work is extremely refined and delicate. There is very little sculpture, and the dog-tooth enrichment, though used liberally, is yet not squandered. There

is no triforium ; the recesses of the clerestory windows are continued down to the apex of the main arches, and under the windows themselves there are openings into the space between the vaulting and the roof of the aisle. The east wall has four lancets in each storey, and a vaulting rib is brought down between the two centre windows ; thus the eastern half of the end bay is treated like a sexpartite vault.

On the completion of this work the famous chapter-house was begun. Its building probably lies between 1280 and 1300.

The choir was enclosed by the present screen during the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Towards the west it presents an open arcade of three arches. Behind these there is a vaulted space forming a vestibule to the choir, with room on either side for altars. This vaulting is of that peculiar type which we find at Bristol ; the spandrels above the groin ribs are filled with tracery, over which are horizontal ribs carrying a flat vault-covering. On the east side of the screen there are richly canopied stone stalls, which were formerly returned along the north and south sides, seven stalls a side. The loss of these stalls is the greatest misfortune that Southwell has suffered.

The sedilia and piscina are of about the same period. They had sculptured spandrels, but they have been unfortunately restored. The roof was lowered and the gable mutilated at a later time. With the exception of the Perpendicular windows in the aisles, and of the fine west window, dating probably from the middle of the fifteenth century, these were the last works of any importance done in the Middle Ages.

The crown of Southwell had been wrought a hundred and fifty years before this. The chapter-house is one of the most important buildings in the country. It may be surpassed by some score of other buildings for one quality

or another, but it focuses into a narrow space the essential qualities of English Gothic work at its climax : so far at least as it is possible to fix the climax : for, by a strange paradox, an art that has reached its zenith has in some aspect passed it, and in some other has not yet reached it. At Southwell the Gothic system of construction and the Gothic scheme of decoration are both fully developed and are perfectly united. Fresh fields were yet to be conquered, but here much at least of the medieval spirit finds full expression : the enjoyment of the problems of construction, the invariable tendency to take the shortest cut, the careless light-heartedness, the constant appeal to nature.



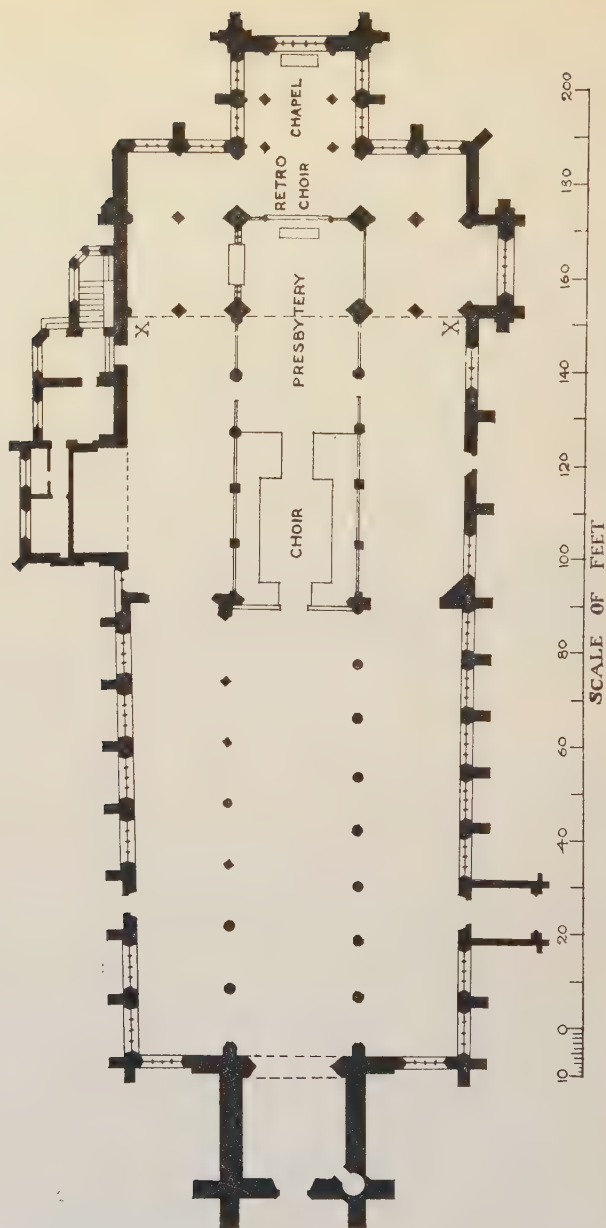
WAKEFIELD FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

WAKEFIELD

THE church of All Saints is of ancient foundation. It passed through the usual stages of development from the aisleless cruciform Norman Church with a central tower to the large and stately church of the later Middle Ages. Its architectural history was traced by the late Mr. Micklethwaite with his usual acumen and expounded with his usual lucidity. He shows how the north aisle was added in the middle of the twelfth century, how the northern arcade was then built, and though altered since, still retains work of that period, how the south aisle was added about 1220, and that the columns of the arcade on that side now form the lower parts of the present columns. At the beginning of the fourteenth century there was a general rebuilding of the church, probably on account of the fall of the central tower. The aisles were widened, the columns were raised and new arches made, but the central tower was not rebuilt. The church was re-consecrated in 1329.

The church remained without a tower till the beginning of the fifteenth century. The present tower was then begun at the west end, but at a distance of a few feet from the church. The work was going on in 1409 and 1420, an Indulgence being granted in the former year to those who should help, and a bequest being made in the latter. When the tower was finished the nave was lengthened by one bay so as to join the tower.

Later in the century, probably about 1470, the clere-



WAKEFIELD. Dotted line X X shows junction of old and new work.

story was added, and the chancel and its aisles were rebuilt. The glass for the east window was given in 1475. There formerly projected eastwards from the chancel a small building which was no doubt of the same date ; it perhaps formed a Lady chapel. There seems to have been a lower storey half underground ; this was probably a bonehouse, for one is referred to in the churchwardens accounts of later times. About this time the nave aisles were again rebuilt of greater width. They were made as wide as the projection of the transepts, which therefore disappear as a feature in the plan.

After the completion of the fabric the furniture was put in hand. A legacy was left for making the rood loft in 1491, and the lower part of the screen which supported it still remains. The upper part of the present screen is picturesque work of the time of James I. Pews were being made in 1508. The Font is of the Restoration period.

A great deal of repair has been done in recent times, and this has somewhat altered the character of the building externally, but the general lines have been preserved.

In 1888 the new diocese of Wakefield was formed, and All Saints became the cathedral church. Large additions were made at the east end, from the designs of Mr. J. L. Pearson, early in the present century, in memory of Walsam How, the first bishop.

SOUTHWARK

THE church of Saint Saviour, formerly Saint Mary Overy, is of remote antiquity. It is said to be of Saxon origin and to have belonged to a convent of nuns who were supported by the proceeds of a ferry across the river at this point, and we are told that the name overie means ferry. The house was refounded as one of Augustinian canons in the time of Henry I (1100-35), who introduced the order into England and founded a house at Witham. Very little of the work of this time remains. It was destroyed by fire at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and rebuilt between 1208 and 1235 by Peter des Roches or de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester (1205-38), a foreigner of King John's faction and a great founder of churches. The bishops of Winchester had a palace hard by Saint Mary Overy, and always took a fatherly interest in the church.

The church consisted of a choir and aisles of five bays, beyond which a low building projected eastward, transepts, a nave and aisles of six bays, with a tower at the crossing. The cloister and other conventual buildings lay to the north. The proportions of the choir are massive and low, and seem to have been influenced by some Norman work—or at least Norman tradition—which survived at the time of its building. The triforium is simply treated, and is divided by the strong vaulting shafts which start from the floor. The clerestory is lofty and the vault sharply pointed. The building which projected eastward of the choir is char-



SOUTHWARK FROM THE SOUTH

acteristic of the Austen Canons churches. It consists of four bays in width and three in length, all of the same height and approximately square. It formed a procession path, a place for altars, and in later times a vestibule to the Lady Chapel which was projected eastward from it in the reign of Edward III. It was afterwards called the Bishop's Chapel after Launcelot Andrews, Bishop of Winchester (1619-26), who was buried in it.

The nave was divided from the aisles by stone columns alternately octagonal and round, an arrangement characteristic of the work of this period. Both sorts of columns had clusters of Purbeck marble columns grouped round them, and Purbeck marble bases on stone plinths. The two westernmost bays were rather different from the others, especially in the triforium, and were separated from the rest by rather more massive piers. There was formerly a west doorway, made late in the fifteenth century or early in the sixteenth.

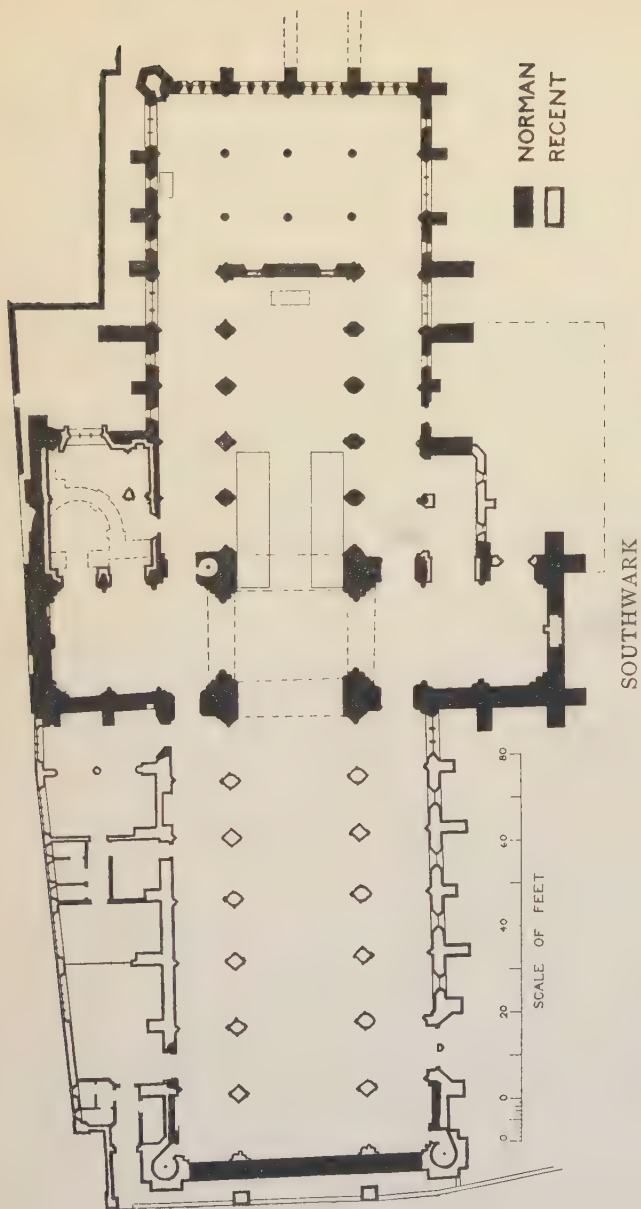
The lower stages of the central tower appear to have been rebuilt in the early part of the fourteenth century, and the south transept was remodelled in the latter part. The upper storeys of the tower are a century later.

The Early English vault of the nave fell in 1469, and was replaced by wood, the carved bosses of which are still preserved. The last work of the Middle Ages was the reredos given by Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester from 1500 till 1528.

The house was surrendered to Henry VIII in 1539, and immediately afterwards the church was purchased from the King by the parishioners and converted into a parish church with the new dedication of Saint Saviour.

The building, of course, suffered to some extent in later time, from neglect and from 'restoration,' but on the whole it escaped with better luck than might have been expected, and was the admiration of all who cared

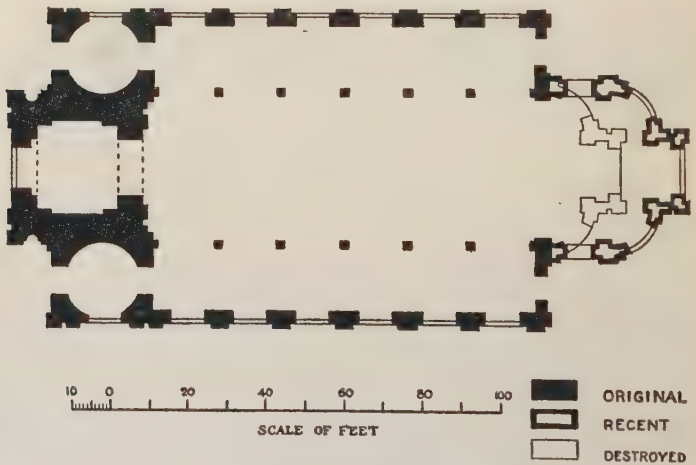
for architecture. But in an evil hour an architect who had already been employed upon the south transept and other parts was about 1830 consulted about the nave roof. He found that some of the timbers had decayed, and it was accordingly taken down before anything had been decided as to a new roof. Nothing could be agreed upon by the parishioners, and, exposed to the weather, the building soon became dilapidated. Then, in spite of protests, the nave and aisles were taken down to within seven feet from the ground, and in its place there was put up in 1838 a building the memory of which is like a nightmare to all who had the misfortune to see it. This was removed in 1890, and the present nave was then built from the designs of Sir Arthur Blomfield based on the drawings which had been made of the thirteenth-century building before its destruction. The new work was dedicated and the new diocese of Southwark created in 1905.



BIRMINGHAM

THE diocese of Birmingham was created in 1905, when the parish church of Saint Philip became the cathedral.

Saint Philip's was designed by Thomas Archer, son of Thomas Archer, M.P. for Warwick and one of the foremost architects of his day. The date of Archer's



BIRMINGHAM

birth is not known. His first work is said to have been done in 1705, but this is doubtful, for he died in 1743 at an advanced age. Archer was a pupil of Sir John Vanbrugh and was to some extent influenced by his master's massive style; certainly he has nothing



BIRMINGHAM FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

in common with Wren. He was an artist of some originality, and Saint Philip's is probably his most distinguished work, though Saint John's Westminster was in its day better known. Archer held the post of 'groom porter' under Queen Anne and the two first Georges. He was a prosperous man, and is said to have left a fortune of over a hundred thousand pounds.

The cathedral, which has all the advantage which position can give it, is a rather heavy building of the Roman Doric order. It has nave and aisles, an eastern apse and a western tower, on either side of which is a vestibule of circular form internally, but coming under the main roof of the building. The most striking and most successful part of the design is the steeple. It consists of a tower of a single storey above the roof of the church and a cupola. The form of the tower, which has concave sides, is effective, and the attic story which intervenes between it and the cupola is cleverly managed so as to make a satisfactory transition from the one to the other.

A chancel was added in the latter part of the last century, and its windows have been filled with coloured glass by Sir Edward Burne-Jones.

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